

SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION,
FROM THE
CONVOCAION OF THE NOTABLES IN 1787
TO THE
FIRST OF NOVEMBER 1796.

CONTAINING
A vast Number of PARTICULARS but little known;
together with EXTRACTS of the most remarkable
PUBLICATIONS on the REVOLUTION, which have
appeared in FRANCE, GERMANY, and ENGLAND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
FRANCIS PAGES.

Tyrans, tremblez : l'Histoire va vous-juger même vivans.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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NATIONAL CONVENTION.

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IT was the destiny of France to experience all the horrors of feudal barbarity and of regal despotism; to endure all the calamities which follow in the train of the most ferocious democracy; to exhaust all the inventions of human genius; to create and to embellish; to experience the reign of erudition, of philosophy, and of the fine arts; and to view the dictatorship of vice, the empire of Vandalism, the domination of the most sanguinary cruelty succeed to so much knowledge, to the most elegant manners, and to a sociability the most attractive. Our misfortunes have uniformly been cotemporary with our glory; and if the latter periods of the national convention present to our view a model for legislative excellence*, which, notwithstanding its imperfections, is perhaps the most beau-

* It's greatest imperfection, in our opinion, is, that it has not given to the executive directory a president removable every five years.

tiful that has ever yet been invented by man; the times antecedent to the 9th of Thermidor (July 27th) present us with the most horrible pictures, with scenes the most afflicting, and with a contest, long unequal, between the purest republican virtue and the vilest and most uncontrollable of the passions. We shall behold an inundation of all the crimes which disgrace our nature; we shall behold men the most atrocious, the most incorrigibly wicked, assembling and conspiring together. The brilliant epochs of the constituent assembly, such as the sitting at the Tennis Court, can scarcely sustain a comparison with those critical situations, infinitely more terrible and more various, in which the national convention was placed, or with its conduct, which was not less sublime. The efforts of virtue, the alarming prodigies of human wickedness, at this period, surpass all that history has related on similar subjects. Never were there more frequent conspiracies, more infernal plots, or more terrible commotions. No political assembly was ever more tempestuous; none ever saw so many of its members destroyed. The principal distinction, however, between the convention and the first constituent assembly is, that the latter was greater in the later periods of its existence than at its commencement, whereas

the assembly of 1789 had lost all its energy, and sunk into decrepitude.

If we turn from the revolutionary storms to the events of the war, we shall find a still greater interest, a still greater importance, in the recital of the victories gained at Gemappe, on the plains of Boffut, at Fleurus, and, in short, in the almost incredible though authentic proofs of that brilliant courage, that patience, that invincible firmness, with which our citizen-soldiers endured, I will not say the dangers of battle, (Frenchmen are accustomed to bear them,) but fatigues, hardships, and want of every kind, even famine itself. The discipline, fidelity, and union of our armies will appear the more admirable, since the opinions and factions which divided the interior of the republic were so many seeds of discord in the camp. Parties, however, succeeded each other rapidly; many generals were disposed, like Cæsar, to pass the Rubicon; and yet all the French soldiery appeared entirely ignorant of their proceedings. Their sole employment was conquest; superior, in this respect, to the Roman armies, who declared themselves in favour of their generals, and were made by them the blind instruments of a civil war. Lastly, if we turn our eyes towards the execrable
war

war of La Vendée, we shall discover events absolutely new in history.

The national convention opened its first session on the 21st of September 1792. This session will be immortalized in our annals. It was not possible to commence their proceedings in a manner more noble and glorious, than by abolishing, unanimously and by acclamation, royalty in France ; and decreeing, that no constitution could be established without the approbation of the people. It is lamentable for the philosopher, that the people, whose sovereignty is undoubtedly incontestible, inalienable, and imprescriptible, should be in general a passive instrument, which may be moved at pleasure. But, when the acceptance of a constitution is in question, we should not understand by the people, the *sans-culotte*, who, having nothing to lose, will vote for any thing which is required of him, but the proprietary, who is interested in the preservation of the public interest. This was not observed when the constitution of 1793 was in agitation. The convention decreed the punishment of death against those who should attack the sovereignty of the people.

He who has read with attention the events which succeeded each other during the two first assemblies ; he who has examined in this history the shock of discordant opinions, and the storm of adverse factions, and their particular views, will be astonished that they agreed in unanimously passing a decree, which appeared contrary to all their secret inclinations. He will be still more amazed, when he learns that there are in existence letters of Fauchet, in which he professes an attachment to the purest royalty ; that Syeies thought, that, without a change of the dynasty, there could be no revolution. Mirabeau had been of the same opinion. As to Brissot, a few days before the 10th of August, he delivered the following sentence, word for word, in the national assembly : “ They tell “ us,” said he, “ of a faction which wishes to “ establish a republic. If these regicide repub- “ licans exist ; if there are men who are in- “ clined to adopt a republic, the sword of the “ law should fall on them, as on the active “ friends of two houses of legislature.” Carra announced the change of the dynasty in his journal. He proposed the Duke of Brunswick, others the Duke of York. The Duke of Orleans, it appears, lost a little of his credit.

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He did every thing, however, in his power, to fill the convention with his creatures. It was easy to foresee that this assembly would have its right and left side, and that the latter would be split into several factions. Marat, Robespierre, Danton, began to labour for themselves. They insinuated into the public mind notions of a dictatorship. Marat mentioned it only in his journal. Danton said, in the tribune of the national assembly, that it was necessary to have a single director: the assembly did not, or chose not to pay sufficient attention to these words, which were far from being insignificant.

Though Marat and Robespierre, and even Danton, were already detached from the Orleans party, and began to meditate their own elevation; though Carra was inclined to the Duke of Brunswick, and, according to all conjectures, Brissot to the Duke of York; though Petion had enlisted himself under the banners of Brissot; Orleans still retained in his party the generals Dumouriez, Valence, and Biron, who proposed to present, by degrees and with caution, the son of Orleans as a new Germanicus. Montesquieu, Syllery, Syeies, the Baroness Staël, Laclos, who in a genius, fertile in crimes, equalled all the Jacobins and Cordeliers united. Orleans

had for some time a strong party even among the Girondists, who afterwards were called Brissotines, because Brissot was attached to their cause, and was proscribed with them. The Girondists at first supported Dumouriez against the accusations of Marat. Many of them were, at the commencement of the convention, partizans even of Orleans, probably not with perfect sincerity, but that they might be the better enabled to oppose Marat and Robespierre, whose domination they began to apprehend. It is true that, in the sequel, the Girondists, the Maratists, and the partizans of Robespierre, mutually accused each other of being Orleanists; it is, however, singular, and has not yet been remarked by any one, that, at that period, there were no longer any adherents to Orleans. The Girondists had become in general true republicans, if it is possible to be a republican without being so on principle. They were as adverse to Orleans as to Marat and Robespierre; and the Cordeliers and Jacobins, as well as the Mountain, or left side of the convention, were the tools of Robespierre, without being conscious of it. Our readers may probably be no less fatigued than we are with these details; but they have appeared to us necessary, as well for the purpose of conducting them through all the intricacies

intricacies of this labyrinth, as to give them an idea of the manner in which the republic was decreed ; which by no means diminishes the merit of the government, since good frequently arises out of evil. Some voted for the republic, from a fear that Orleans would be king ; others to avoid the appearance of being Orleanists ; every one was desirous of acquiring or preserving popularity. Thus it was, as Robespierre afterwards well remarked, that the republic was, as it were, by stealth introduced among the various and discordant factions.

To decree that France was a republic, was, in fact, to decree nothing. The principal object was to determine in what manner it should be founded and governed. This silence was of admirable service to all parties, and the vague term, republic, could not injure them. The Decemvirs, who ruled the Romans with a rod of iron, pretended, in like manner, that Rome was a republic. Octavius, when he divided the empire of the world with Marc Anthony and Lepidus, and sacrificed his best friends to their resentment, as they in turn gave up theirs to him, affected to call Rome a republic. Have we not the republic of Venice, though governed by a senatorial aristocracy ? The reason is, that
skilful

skilful tyrants are contented with the reality, and care not for the name, which they leave the people for their amusement. Such were the principal founders of the republic. Must we reckon among them a Marat, a Robespierre? at the recollection of whom we are ashamed of being men, and should blush at being republicans, did we not know that the republic was established against their secret wishes, rather than with their actual approbation.

The defect of great bodies of men is, that they are composed of heterogeneous, and consequently discordant, elements. What might we not apprehend from an assembly, in which the people, almost always erroneous in their choice, had placed a writer of such anarchical principles as Marat, so immoral a man as Collot d'Herbois, a monster of such ferocious ambition as Robespierre, a political camelion like Barrere, a sanguinary villain like Danton, so blood-thirsty a wretch as Petion, so mad a demagogue as Camille Desmoulins, who was subservient to the Orleans party, and so many others whose names and crimes this history will but too well delineate? It must be observed, that if we vary our epithets, we do it to avoid a fatiguing monotony: the truth is, these men were almost equally sanguinary

nary and immoral, and equally inclined to anarchy. Marat was as ferocious as Robespierre, Danton, Petion, Billaud-Varenne, and others. The Jacobins were not surpassed by the Cordeliers; or, if the latter had a shade of superiority in iniquity, which is a doubtful point, the difference is so trifling, as scarcely to be observed: the only distinction which we can discover, is, that Marat and Billaud would have shed blood for the pleasure of shedding it; Robespierre to satiate his revenge or to establish his power. In short, they were robbers against robbers, tigers against tigers; but robbers by profession have had some moments of generosity, some feelings of humanity, which these monsters never experienced. If we were not convinced that the new constitution will bind these factions in chains as a natural consequence of the establishment of the two houses of legislation and the division of powers, this host of man-tigers, all of them chosen by the people, would cause us to regret royalty. There is one observation which it is our duty to make here, which is, that in the Girondist party there were men worthy of being the founders of a republic, such as Vergniaux, Guadet, Barbaroux, Condorcet, and Rabaut. Condorcet was at first inclined to a change of the dynasty in favour of Orleans, but he was subsequently a true republican;

can; the posthumous work which he left, and of which we shall take notice in the literary part of this history, leaves no doubt remaining on that subject: we may say the same of Desmoulins, and even of Brissot. As to the others, of what consequence is it in the fate of a great nation, to be informed more or less accurately of the character of a crowd of monsters, who dyed the territory of France with blood, and changed liberty into a dæmon? We think it, however, necessary to dwell a little on the two persons who sustained the greatest parts in the convention, Marat and Robespierre; since the one enjoyed a power almost dictatorial, and the other after his death was deified. The most astonishing circumstance is, that they were both men of moderate talents. Vergniaux, Guadet, Isnard, were much superior to them in the powers of oratory; Danton had as popular a manner, and as much eloquence in the tribune as Robespierre; but audacity succeeds more easily than talents, and Marat and Robespierre, although by nature cowards, had all the impudence of vice, while they were supported by a powerful party. Though a celebrated historian has said, that it is as rare to see iniquity as virtue carried to the extreme, it is not uncommon to observe villains with such prominent features as to produce, not admiration indeed, but astonishment

ment and horror. Notwithstanding their cowardice, and the mediocrity of their talents, we may safely class in the number of those marked villains, who are phænomena of iniquity, Marat and Robespierre. Both would, if they had been able, have drunk the blood of the human race; the former like one of those carnivorous animals who require continually blood, and blood alone; the other for the purpose of allaying with blood the heat of revengeful and odious passions; and above all, that sordid envy generated by his conviction of his own mediocrity; an envy which induced him to proscribe all that gave him the slightest offence, and created a desire of reigning alone in the midst of ruin and slaughter. Unfortunately, he had likewise conceived the notion of raising up to himself a name in the republic of letters. Hence proceeded his persecution against literary men, whom he well knew to be the natural enemies of tyranny, and capable of unmasking his iniquitous designs. Marat, born in a little village near Neufchatel, might be compared to the Grecian Therites for the smallness and deformity of his person, and the ugliness of his features; nor did he less resemble him in character than in person. His first occupation was that of a quack, an obscure professor of the medical art, living at Paris upon alms, and at
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the expence of the dupes whom he deceived. When the volcano of the revolution had raised the dregs of France from the depth of their original obscurity, Marat distinguished himself by the audacity rather than the merit of his writings. Orleans gained him over to his party, and from that moment this man, who had lived by charity and empiricism, existed on the blood the effusion of which his pen produced. He, as well as Robespierre, had the horrible pleasure of shedding it himself, by assisting at the executions of the 2d of September. Marat, after having been the tool of Orleans, began to turn his thoughts towards the dictatorship, when la Cordai delivered France from this monster*. As he was immersed in the lowest debauchery, as well as addicted to the most sanguinary measures, this heroine anticipated but a very short time the disgraceful death which visibly awaited him. She would have rendered a much more important service to her country, if she had plunged her dagger in the heart of Robespierre; we must, however, allow that it was not very easy to discover his designs. If Robespierre possessed neither the genius nor courage of a Cromwell or a Ca-

*. If Marat had lived, and had succeeded in supplanting Robespierre, his dictatorship would have been still more sanguinary.

tiline, he surpassed them in hypocrisy and profound dissimulation; we ourselves believed for a long time, that he had no other ambition than to pass for a zealous republican; his colleagues for a considerable period imagined that he was disinterested; it is still thought by many that he was sincerely attached to Orleans; nor was it till after a lapse of time, that, observing with what facility men of moderate powers of mind gained a superiority by their impudence alone, over some of the greatest orators in the convention, that he began to think that he could equal Marat or Danton, and that it required only boldness in action, and the talent of making harangues, to obtain the supreme power. He enjoyed like them a popularity truly gigantic; and he was neither so profligate as Marat, nor so indolent as Danton. If Robespierre had not genius sufficient to create circumstances for his purpose, he had at least enough to profit by them when they occurred; in short, it is to Robespierre that we must apply the saying of Cromwell, so profound and so true, *That we never plunge so deep into a revolution, as when we know not at what point we aim.* Envy and hatred were Robespierre's predominant characteristics. He hated man, more than he desired power; and far from seeking, like all usurpers, even Cromwell himself, to reconcile

reconcile mankind to his elevation, by gaining partizans to his cause, he persecuted indiscriminately friends and enemies. He was desirous of effecting every thing by terror, his only resource on all occasions; but which, by its violence, is the least likely to produce permanent advantages.

How degraded are the people! How much does a numerous assembly resemble them in their worst qualities! All the Jacobins, all the pretended patriots, affected a filthy disgusting dress: Robespierre alone appeared to be attentive to his person.

It may not be improper to remark here, that the most disastrous domination, and the worst which a people can choose, is that of these pretended orators, who in all periods of the revolution have misled the multitude, from the time of holding the primary or electoral assemblies, until the moment when the tribune of the national assembly was constantly occupied by these makers of harangues. The political writers of antiquity agree, that the principal defect of democratic governments is the almost magical power which the orators possess in the public deliberations. They compared, not without reason, their prating, for

the term eloquence is applicable to the speeches of two or three orators only who have appeared in the world, to the perfidious story of the syrens, or the confused but awful tones of distant thunder. They subdued rather than convinced the mind; they stunned rather than reasoned or persuaded. All was vociferation and clamour rather than eloquence; it was the labour of the lungs, instead of the deductions of logic. A republic is like a vessel, of which the babbling demagogues are the masters, where the senate are at the helm and scarcely able to guide it, and where the *sans-culottes* and men without property are the mariners. As this latter division of the people are the least enlightened, and the most numerous, party spirit, whether feigned or real, gives reputation to the factious, even when they possess neither integrity nor common sense. Attachment to a party takes place of every thing, and compensates for every deficiency. Strange confusion! says Gordon in a note on Sallust, to see men without morals respected as honest and virtuous characters. Democracy, in the opinion of Voltaire, is the despotism of a mob. Much was said in the beginning of our revolution of the predominating influence of the lawyers and of the clergy; the domination of the mob and of demagogues no less deserves our attention. The

history of the Athenians presents a specious picture to the mind, because historians have carefully exhibited the fair side only of the portrait: but if a history more useful had been published, which had disclosed the tumults of their assemblies, the factions which divided the various quarters of the city, and the sedition which so frequently agitated the citizens; if we had a history which displayed the most illustrious of the Athenian subjects persecuted, banished by Ostracism, or condemned to death at the pleasure of a violent declaimer, we should soon discern that the nation which valued itself so much on its liberty, was in reality miserably enslaved, and made the tool and plaything of an insignificant cabal, whom they termed demagogues.

Another observation of great importance, and which has been confirmed by the experience of our revolution, is, that the greatest seditions or insurrections have been excited, the most horrible massacres have been directed, and crimes of the blackest dye have been committed, by persons generally of the meanest condition in society. In the reign of Charles V. the revolt of the cities of Castille, called *las comunidades*, was headed at Medina del Campo by a cloth-worker; at Salamanca by a furrier; and at Segovia

govia by a tanner. In our own country, Leclerc was one of the most active incendiaries of the League; Pierre Broussel, an insignificant advocate, was the oracle and tool of the faction of the *Fronde*. Take a survey of the principal agents of the Orleans faction, then of the decemvirate; recollect the authors of the horrors of the 2d of September, and of other massacres which have since desolated the country, and you will see men of the same condition, of the same nature and genius; you will see a Petion, a Marat, a Robespierre; sprung from nothing, they, like the cobbler of Messina, were at once sole judges and executioners of their own decrees, and by their own authority.

We feel our minds expand with the noblest sensations while the transactions of the first sitting of the National Convention pass in review before us: but when we reflect that this assembly was soon converted into a theatre of gladiators, into a banditti of cut-throats, for even gladiator is too dignified a term for them, since the gladiators fought in open day with equal arms, with courage and without treachery; when we consider that one party in the convention dragged the other to the scaffold; when we recollect the crowd of proconsuls and petty tyrants who shed

torrents of human blood, the pen is ready to drop from our hands. Alas! the task of an historian, who, with the exception of military occurrences, has nothing until the 9th Thermidor, (July 27,) and even after that celebrated day, but crimes to relate, treachery to delineate, factions and criminal intrigues to develope, and massacres to describe, is a task of pain and sorrow, surrounded with disgust and difficulty. We will make the attempt in spite of these difficulties and this disgust. We will collect these proofs of the iniquity of man, for the instruction of posterity, who will see all the evils and all the misfortunes which flow from a democracy, although representative, whenever it is not counterbalanced by the system of the two houses of legislation, and the division of the powers of government. This part of our history exhibits a picture of a great and populous empire, a prey to the arbitrary power of the vilest and most insolent despots; who, under the names of committees of public safety, revolutionary committees and commissioners, and revolutionary armies, adopted one uniform system of plunder and rapine. Every one of these establishments more justly merited the name of counter-revolutionary; for nothing could be better calculated to render the revolution odious, and to drive the people into the

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the arms of an individual for refuge. Here may be seen, what is unparalleled in history, a band of the public servants of a civilised nation, ordering their fellow-citizens to be *guillotined*, drowned, or shot, without even the form of a trial, or, what is still more dreadful, with the formalities of justice and in the sacred name of the law. All tyrannies undoubtedly resemble each other; in other words, every tyrant, like our decemvirs, has employed the bloody arm of terror. There is, however, an unfortunate distinction in our revolution, for which we shall search, in vain, through the annals of the most remote antiquity; we shall nowhere discover a nation massacred by her own representatives and magistrates; nor can we find any thing similar to those numerous societies, assuming to themselves the name of popular assemblies, which existed on plunder, false accusation, and murder; which were kept in regular pay for these very purposes; we shall cite irrefragable proofs of the fact in the progress of the history. Our astonishment is redoubled, when we are informed that there were many honourable men in those clubs. There were also many men of integrity and many excellent citizens in the convention, and even among the Jacobins; but such men are frequently timid, and put too much confidence in others. The

audacious criminal, who sharpens his instruments of death, and lays his plots in secret, easily subdues or deceives them; and the multitude generally give the preference to the first villain, who has the faculty of declamation, like those sick persons who prefer the shameless empiric to the experienced physician. Another circumstance, which distinguishes our history from others, is, that there never was a society which prepared its poison, and organized its conspiracy, with so much skill as the Jacobins. Their directors deceived even the initiated. As a general dispatches reconnoitring parties before he advances the main body of the army; so the Jacobins dispersed among the people, with caution, and by degrees, preparatory ideas, the forerunners of their concealed designs. Every thing which it was necessary to say in the tribune of the convention was, in like manner, carefully arranged. They even took care to fill the galleries and tribunes with persons of both sexes, hired to hiss or applaud. An idea of their tumult and uproar cannot be formed but by those who have been present. I know not whether it proceeded from a sanguinary instinct, or from a formal design, that the Jacobins hoisted the signal of the *bonnet rouge*, such as is worn by criminals condemned to the galleys. The
cap

cap of liberty among the Romans was white, and blue with the Swiss. The Jacobins have been compared to the ancient *Gueux** of the Netherlands, to the levellers which formerly disturbed England, and to the free-masons. There are but certain points of resemblance in which these comparisons are just. With the same maxims of devastation, yet the Jacobins are not indebted to them for their origin. This society, which at first rendered important service to the public interest, was formed by pure patriotism. It electrified the minds of the people, and gave a great impulse to the revolutionary movements. It is unhappily necessary, in order to awaken a people who have slept in chains for fourteen centuries, to give an unusual energy to their minds; the good on such an occasion is necessarily followed by evil. Intriguing men resolved to take advantage of the popularity and consequent influence of this society. The Orleans party completed its degradation. They changed it into a den of assassins. From that moment, the tribune of the convention resounded with the necessity of *revolutionizing* our language, our manners, and our laws. The event

* This was a name assumed by a democratic party in the Pays-bas; in the same manner as *sans culotte* has been assumed by the French.

has but too well instructed us in the extent to which that word, so vague, and, for that reason, so terrible, was meant to be carried. What a frightful latitude has it not given to these revolutionists? In the sequel, even this expression was not thought sufficiently strong. They invented the phrase of *sans-culottizing* the whole nation; the favourite expression of Carrier and Lebon. No! history presents nothing to our view which resembles the atrocities that we have witnessed. Sects of fanatics have, on former occasions, massacred the sectaries of an opposite party. An hundred thousand unfortunate persons lost their lives in the massacre of the Manicheans under the emperors of the Greeks. The schism of the Donatists, the disputes on the word consubstantiation, and the quarrels of the Iconoclasts, destroyed two hundred thousand men; so depraved is the human race; but, at least, these were rivals destroying rivals. In every nation have tyrants been contented with cutting off those who were their adversaries, or whose riches they desired. But in our times, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, aristocrat and patriot, in short, wretched prisoners, without means of defence or of subsistence, have all suffered in one general slaughter. The greater part of them were absolutely unknown to their murderers.

murderers. Terror reigned over the assassin as well as over the assassinated. The pleasure of drinking blood was the sole motive for slaughter. The unfortunate victims knew not to what party they should attach themselves. They were imprisoned for being *moderès*; then because they were *ultra-revolutionary*; again for being terrorists or Jacobins, or even for being revolutionary. They were treated as suspected persons by the first who chose to look on them as such. Under Robespierre, they were termed federalists, who blamed the 31st of May. Since the 9th of *Thermidor*, any one who co-operated in it would be persecuted. It is said, that nothing can be more unfortunate for a nation, than to experience a revolution followed by a counter-revolution. We, alas! have experienced several.

It is not astonishing, considering the disposition of the general mind, that royalty was abolished, and the republic proclaimed, almost without discussion. The four leading parties in the convention required this measure to accomplish their respective ends. The Cordeliers, at the head of whom were Marat and Danton, and a great party among the Jacobins, wished to raise Orleans to the throne; the remainder of the Jacobins, and a few of the Cordeliers, together with

with the Mountain in the convention, desired a republic, because this vague term afforded them the hope of elevation under cover of anarchy. Some of them were sincere advocates for a republic. The Girondists, so called because the leaders were deputies of the department of *La Gironde*, were partly adherents of Orleans, and partly inclined to a republic on a democratic basis. Nearly all the Girondists afterwards joined the latter party, and were the real founders of the republic, which they cemented with their blood. The *Capetian* royalists, whom we call so to distinguish them from the Orleanist royalists, were too feeble to oppose any project, and sufficiently enlightened to believe, that the indeterminate sense of the term *republic* would produce anarchy, which would necessarily cause the people to regret Louis the Sixteenth.

The fourth party, which sometimes, though rarely, bore the name of *independent*, waited till circumstances should enable them to declare for that side which should appear to have the best intentions, that is to say, intentions most analogous to their own; so prone are men to imagine that their own notions alone are conformable to the dictates of reason. This party, in which were many royalists and constitutionalists,

ists, or men attached to the constitution of 1791, which had just been abolished by the decree of the republic, had at least the courage not to sacrifice their independence and consistency so far as to unite with either of the strongest parties, the Mountain or the Girondists. The independents hated both the anarchists and the Orleanists, *i. e.* the Mountaineers and the Convention, the Jacobins and the Cordeliers; but, at the same time, they were disgusted with the ascendancy which the superior talents and haughty manners of the Girondists appeared to arrogate. They knew that several Orleanists had crept in among them. They apprehended also, that the hatred which the Girondists continually manifested for royalty, and the zeal they displayed for republicanism, was nothing more than a mask, under which they concealed their thirst of power. If liberty is liable to suspicion, and republicans inclined to suspect, factions are still more so. The notion which the independents had formed of the Girondists was one of the principal causes which prevented the superiority of their intellect from triumphing over Marat, Robespierre, and the Jacobins. These seated themselves on the most elevated benches of the convention, on the left of the president. The party in opposition, who were called the

Plain

Plain (la plaine), or *Moderès*, were divided into two, the *Plain* and the *Marsh (le marais)*, a name given to the lowest seats, as they differed among themselves, by sentiments more or less bold or enthusiastic. The Mountain, it may be easily imagined, consisted of men with ardent and ferocious minds, more calculated to subvert than to construct. The Roman senate had no such division. Cicero would not have called one part of the senate *Toads of the Marsh*, and another part *Blood-suckers*. But these were other times and other men; and the eloquence of Cicero was of a different nature. It must, however, be confessed, that although the Roman senate had not the denominations of Ciceronians, Pompeians, and Cæsarians, as we had those of Brissotines, Girondists, Maratists, Robespierrians, yet they were no less frequently divided into factions. It should be observed here, that the *Moderès* formed the most numerous party in the assembly; but the Mountain, though the minority, kept almost always the upper hand, and passed all the decrees. Strange subversion of all social order! the minority dared to call the majority a faction! On the 31st of May, the majority was proscribed by the minority, and accused of royalism, Orleanism, and moderatism. The philosopher smiles with contempt,

or rather, he blushes, he groans, whilst writing such details; but they are necessary for the comprehension of this history. It is worthy of remark, that the precise meaning of the words *Federalist* and *Moderè* has never yet been defined. The line of demarcation has never been drawn between *moderè* and *revolutionary*, or between *ultra* and *citra* revolutionary. The robbers of the forest act more fairly; they tell you openly, that they kill you for the sake of plunder.

A great number of the independents, more attached upon principle to the constitution of 1791, than to the person of Louis XVI., whose treachery was clearly discovered, openly abandoned that prince's cause when the republic was decreed. But while they deserted royalty, they wished to treat him with indulgence, either through a sentiment of humanity alone, or because they foresaw the bloody, the exterminating war, which the punishment of Louis XVI. would excite; or from an apprehension that his death would be favourable to the Orleanists. The other parties, except a small number of royalists, desired the death of the king. But for the purpose of gaining over more partizans to the new order of things, they joined the Mountain,

Mountain, the Jacobins, and the Cordeliers, in their plan of exciting that numerous class of men who, having nothing to lose, can only gain by a change, against the men of property, the peaceable citizens, and the partizans of kingly power. The Girondists, when they united themselves to the Anarchists, without being, like them, inclined to anarchy, to an agrarian law, or to the levelling system, were guilty of the greater imprudence, inasmuch as, distinguished by the superiority which great talents and an excellent education produce, they should have been able to penetrate into the designs and secret intentions of the Jacobin leaders. They could not be ignorant that social equality exists only in right, and not in fact; that it is an equality in the eye of the law, and not an equality of fortune or power; that the poor should be protected and encouraged, but that they neither can nor ought to govern. The Jacobins, and, in imitation of them, the ministers themselves, affected the plainest, not to say the most disgusting, exterior.

The public offices and commissions were filled up by persons the least qualified for their situations. Thus to change the national character, by degrading the language and manners of

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of the country; suddenly to substitute the dress, the language, and vulgar manners of the lowest mechanics, in the place of science, politeness, urbanity, and elegance; was a scheme equally profound and treacherous, in those who wished to level every thing but their own fortunes, and to elevate themselves at the expence of the multitude, who are at once the instrument and the victims of artful men. In process of time, all the rich men and merchants were denounced, as objects of just suspicion. The Jacobins (the mother-society) circulated their principles with the force and rapidity of lightning, and, by means of the affiliated societies, the people were induced to adopt them.

It is an astonishing circumstance, that the Girondists, who, in general, were true republicans, men of genius and knowledge, and of a character amiable, and susceptible of the finer feelings of humanity, should associate, at least in the beginning, with a Marat, who, to use the expression of a man of letters, would have drunk his mother's blood out of the skull of his father. It was suggested to them, that the Anarchists and Orleanists would finally mark them out for slaughter. These hints made no impression

impression on men vain of their talents, and who imagined themselves profoundly skilled in the state of affairs, and capable of quelling, by their commanding eloquence, the most tumultuous emotions of the people. Persuaded that the death of the last king of France would be the cement to consolidate the edifice of the republic, they considered the vociferations of the Jacobins, and their fanatical and infuriate conduct, as an evil necessary to be endured, for the purpose of agitating the passions and heating the minds of the people. Far from thinking that themselves would at one time be the victims, they imagined that the Jacobins, rendered odious to persons of every description by their excesses, would be the first to perish in the ruins of the anarchy, and under the wheels of the revolutionary car. Notwithstanding their apparent security, they yet took measures to unite and to secure themselves against events, and the inconstancy of fortune. Petion was ever suspected by the anarchists, in spite of his conduct during the horrible massacre of the 2d of September. He lost his great popularity. A man of no consideration, but virtuous, named Chambon, succeeded him in the mayoralty. He was condemned, and stripped of power. The Jacobins governed

governed the *commune* and the sections of Paris. They, in a great measure, were indebted for this surprising power to the battalion of the *Marseillois*, who co-operated with them on the 10th of August, and of whom a great number had remained at Paris. Barbaroux, one of the Girondists, proposed to order to Paris another body of the *Marseillois*, which they might oppose to this remnant. This idea appearing feasible, Rolland, then minister, was desired to engage the departments to send to Paris some federate troops, to act as a conventional guard.

While the preliminaries of this measure were arranging, some of the journals agitated a question, whether the national assembly, representing the whole of France, ought to be guarded by one *commune* alone, whose particular and individual interest might be in opposition to the general interests of the provinces; a commune, in short, capable of rivalling the convention itself in power. This could never have been a question with men of information, or at the tribunal of Reason. But Marat, whose sanguinary journal was entitled *Publiciste François*, thought differently, or rather it was his interest to think differently. The *commune* of Paris could not have seconded his murderous designs, nor those

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of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, if the convention had been surrounded by a departmental guard, composed of federates taken from all the departments. We shall see, in the sequel, with what art the plan of thus protecting the convention was imputed to the Girondists as a crime. It was one of the causes of their being accused of federalism. The rivalry between Danton and Robespierre as yet made no noise. These men, as well as Marat, were still attached to Orleans. La Fayette, accused by the public voice of having invited the Prussians and Austrians to our frontiers, in concert with the king, whom he equally deceived, or perhaps from an earnest desire to repair the fault which he committed on the 5th and 6th of October, and to atone for his conduct in advising him to flee to Varennes, or at least in concurring in his arrest, was commissioned, as we have already said, to engage the enemy. Marshals Rochambeau and Lukner at first shared the command; but La Fayette alone was acquainted with the secret instructions for the campaign. Rochambeau soon gave in his resignation; and Lukner was made second in command.

The Jacobins began now to insinuate the conditions, which would, in their judgment, lead

lead to the final destruction of the coalition of Pilitz: They said, the *Duc de Chartres*, son of the Duke of Orleans, who himself was too infamous to be brought forward without considerable address and management, should marry one of the King of England's daughters, and that a son of that monarch should be united to the Duke's eldest daughter, and be put into possession of Belgium.

We have already seen, that La Fayette, who was succeeded by Santerre in the command of the national guards at Paris, deserted his post, and escaped into the enemy's territories, with his *etat major*; where, at the present moment, he is still suffering a severe imprisonment. Dumouriez, who was so soon to imitate his defection, was his successor. The combined army was commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, one of the most celebrated generals in Europe. He had surmounted the first obstacles, or rather had advanced without impediment within forty-five leagues of Paris. Verdun and Longwy had opened their gates to him; but he was completely beaten at St. Menehould. We were indebted to the superiority of our artillery for this success; for which reason it was called the battle of the *cannonade*. Disease spread devastation

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through

through his army. We retook Verdun and Longwy, and the enemy evacuated our territory. The Duke of Brunswick effected his retreat with great difficulty; if Dumouriez had been active, not a single Prussian, nor even the general himself, could have escaped.

Some persons attributed the retreat of the King of Prussia to the pestilential diseases which the soldiers had contracted, from eating immoderately, and without caution, the unwholesome fruit in the environs of Verdun. Others imagined that it was owing to the vexation which Frederick William experienced, on account of his having imprudently relied on promises, the value of which he had not ascertained. The emigrants had persuaded him that every town would open its gates, and receive him as its deliverer. Dumouriez gave the honour to himself and to his sagacious *manœuvres*. Time, which at length discloses the most hidden secrets of politics, has informed us that Louis XVI., from the midst of his prison, was one of the causes of this unexpected event. It is well known that Manuel, accompanied by Petion, and Kersaint, prevailed on Louis XVI. to write to the King of Prussia, and intreat him to withdraw his troops from the French dominions. These three men assured the

the captive monarch, that the preservation of his life and that of his family depended on this measure. When in the sequel the convention condemned Louis to lose his head upon the scaffold, he said to those who surrounded him: "I am certain that Petion, Manuel, and Kersaint have not voted for my death." He was deceived in respect to Petion, and this horrible feature of his character, which is not astonishing in a man who had participated in the massacres of September, devotes his memory to eternal infamy*. Manuel and Kersaint resisted with all their might the project of executing the king. Their efforts being ineffectual, they publicly gave in their resignation, and quitted the assembly, notwithstanding the observations of their friends, who perceived the danger of their retreat. Both of them perished on the scaffold in the reign of the *decemvirs*, honourable victims of their fidelity to a sacred engagement. History should notice their heroic integrity; and Manuel, sharing the fate of Kersaint, would have been equally honoured by posterity, did not the blood with which he was defiled in the lamentable massacre of September rise up in judgment against him. The

* Yet this man was called the *virtuous* Petion; and the cry was *Petion or death*, as it was afterwards *Robespierre or death*.

King of Prussia, on his part, required only a fair pretext to justify his retreat in the eyes of those who had hurried him into the plains of Champagne. This retreat itself was attended with numerous difficulties. Copious rains, which fell during the month of September, had broken up the roads, already nearly impassable, especially for artillery, from Verdun to Longwy. That prince was obliged to form a way for his troops by cutting down trees from the neighbouring forest, and laying them near each other across the road. They marched at the rate of two leagues each day. The intelligence which arrived from Dumouriez's army assured the nation that the enemy's troops, worn out by fatigue, famine, and the bloody flux, must either wholly perish or lay down their arms. This event was regarded by the Parisians as certain, and they received, with an unparalleled indignation, the information that the Prussians had quitted France, without even their rear-guard being cut off; and that, following the course of the Moselle, they had taken up their quarters between Treves and Coblentz.

A just and general outcry was raised against Dumouriez. He was accused of a cowardly connivance with the enemy. An immediate dis-
mission

mission would have prevented the incalculable evils which followed his subsequent defection. Dumouriez aspired to the conquest of Brabant and Holland; and, independently of the celebrated battle of Gemappe, which he gained in the month of November following, the retreat of the Austrians was rendered necessary by the political sentiments of the Brabanters, who were ripe for insurrection in all parts, either from their ancient notions of liberty, or from a remembrance of the recent cruelties of the emperor Joseph, and of D'Alton. The French were received as saviours at Ostend, Nieuport, Brussels, Louvain, and Liege. The whole of Belgium, with the exception of Luxembourg, was constituted part of the French republic, as in the south were Nice, Savoy, and Piedmont.

How necessary is it to distrust assumed and premature reputations! The name of Dumouriez, at that time, eclipsed all others; but his perfidy, and perhaps his want of capacity, soon dispersed this smoke of factitious glory. While he was driving the Austrians beyond the Meuse, he was represented, even then, at Paris as a traitor. We leave it to military men to determine how far Dumouriez possessed the martial genius; and to decide whether his operations in Belgium,

and the subsequent battle of Nerwinde, prove not only the obliquity of his political conduct, but even his ignorance of the military art. They will judge if in Champagne he did all that he could, or ought to have done. He was, it will be said, in the secret of the King of Prussia's retreat; but, at least, he will never be able to justify his conduct in not ordering Kellerman to advance to gain the ground of the Prussians, the Austrians, and the emigrants, when all their troops began their march from Champagne; since it was his duty to endeavour to prevent the enemy from gaining so advantageous a position as that between Coblentz, Treves, and Luxembourg; as from his own confession that position totally surrounded Custine's army. He was jealous of Custine it is true, and he had no doubt concerted his plan of treachery with the King of Prussia, even in that monarch's camp in Champagne. In Brabant, was it the part of a good general to have hazarded the battle of Gemappe? Would it not have been preferable to have diverted the enemy by means of the division of his army which acted on the Lys, and by another which could co-operate on their right? Was not his romantic enterprise in Holland the cause of all the misfortunes which happened on the Roër, at Liège, and at Nerwinde? Did he not

not at Nerwinde take the disadvantageous position of the Prince of Orange? Thus it was that all his pretended success terminated in an ineffectual project of raising the *Duc de Chartres* to the throne, and of putting France in the power of her enemies, in the midst of whom he took refuge, almost alone; after having, like La Fayette, attempted to corrupt his army, which yet remained faithful to their country; and after having, as well as La Fayette and Bouillé, written to the convention a letter filled with bravadoes.

We have anticipated events, that we might not be under the necessity of recurring to Dumouriez's campaigns, and to enable the reader from facts to form a just notion of this man, who imagined himself a second Coriolanus, or a second Cæsar. He had more personal resources and more talents than La Fayette; but he never will be compared, I do not say to a Turenne, but to a Jourdan, a Pichegru, a Buonaparte, and a Moreau*.

* Dumouriez always faithfully observed his engagements with the hostile powers; and this is the reason, that although he has experienced some mortification, yet he has not been imprisoned like La Fayette.

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We now return to the military operations, noticing only, according to the plan we have adopted, those events which merit the attention of posterity. Dumouriez had, by his treachery, and above all by promising to deliver up Lille and Douay, which are the true bulwarks of Flanders, engaged the coalesced powers to commence a second campaign in the beginning of 1793. After having retaken the Austrian Netherlands, they penetrated into France, not on the side of Champagne, as in 1792, but on the frontier, the best supplied with fortified towns. Dumouriez could not succeed in his design of deceiving the inhabitants of Lille. They resisted the enemy with the most heroic valour, as the inhabitants of Thionville had opposed the Prussians in 1792.

The commencement of this famous campaign was not favourable to the French. The enemy took the camp of Famars, and the town of Valenciennes, and were enabled by their position at the camp of Cæsar to have taken the town of Cambrai. In the midst of these reverses of fortune Louis XVI. was brought to trial.

Though it was thought necessary to pass over in silence the campaign of Custine, Houchard, and

and Biron, in 1792, on the banks of the Rhine, and the capture of Mayence by Custine, whose object was to push our conquests in Germany, while Dumouriez, Beurnonville *, and Valence penetrated into Belgium, because Dumouriez's subsequent treachery rendered all these exploits ineffectual, still we owe it to the memory of those generals (Custine, Houchard, and Biron) who since died on the scaffold, to say that neither of them merited their fate. Custine was sincerely attached to the revolution; he had brought his soldiers to submit to order and discipline, and though not a man of very superior talents, yet he was by no means devoid of merit as a general. Biron was a zealous partizan of the revolution, but devoted to Orleans. Houchard was a man of great courage, and the charge of treachery was not proved against him. Montesquieu, who had taken, almost without resistance, the county of Nice and the duchy of Savoy, and planted the tri-coloured standards on the gates of Geneva, was a victim to the Jacobins, for his opposition to the anarchists of that city. He was one of the Orleanist party, but was a man of integrity. He

* Did not Dumouriez owe the victory at Gemappe to Beurnonville, whom he was accustomed to call the French Ajax, in consequence of the plan suggested by the latter of carrying the redoubts at the point of the bayonet?

was accused by Claviere, who really believed that he had betrayed his country. He saved his life by escaping to Switzerland. Claviere afterwards severely expiated his fatal errors; persecuted in his turn by the anarchists, whose domination he had contributed to establish, he was cast into the same dungeon into which Robespierre's victims were crowded. Having received the record of his accusation, and seeing among the witnesses his most deadly enemies, he terminated his career by plunging a dagger into his breast. His wife, when informed of this catastrophe, poisoned herself. About the same time, Rolland voluntarily put a period to his existence, that he might not survive his wife, whom Robespierre had sacrificed by the sword of the law*.

We have followed thus regularly the events of the war, down to the period of Louis's trial, that we might give a clear unbroken prospect of the various transactions. Before we mention that famous trial, if we may give that name to a condemnation determined beforehand, we shall

* We have said in another part of the work, that Rolland was a creature of Brissot's. Though he was protected by Brissot, it does not follow that he adopted all his notions. Rolland was an enlightened and virtuous minister.

take a nearer view of the political storms of the convention. That assembly could be compared only, as we have before remarked, to a theatre of gladiators. The most remarkable sitting was on the 30th of October 1792, when Louvet made a long speech against Marat, Robespierre, and Danton *. Louvet, whom this speech ought to immortalise, foresaw all our misfortunes; he had the honour of holding the first torch to the darkness of our tyrants' souls. The transactions of that memorable sitting were as follows: Robespierre, under a pretext that he had been blamed in a report which the minister had just made, concluded his speech by observing, with his usual audacity †, That if any of his colleagues had any accusation to bring against him, he was ready to meet it, for he dreaded no accusation. "You are deceived, Robespierre," said Louvet; "I am ready to denounce you." A great agitation was displayed in the assembly. Many of the members demanded that Louvet should be heard.

* Robespierre was as inferior to Danton in the tribune, as Danton was to Mirabeau, or Mirabeau to Cicero.

† His audacity was so great, that he boasted, both to the assembly and the commune, that he had shewn himself on the 10th of August, when he did not make his appearance till twenty-four hours afterwards. Danton, who was no less a coward, made the same boast.

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The president re-established order. Robespierre continued; after having a long time digressed, as was his custom, he added, that it was horrible to observe the departments greedily imbibing the calumnies which were constantly inventing against him. After a number of insipid repetitions, he moved, that the report of the minister should be adjourned to a day fixed. "I support the motion," said Danton; "we should no longer entertain distrust of each other. I honour the philanthropy of the minister (Rolland); he has without doubt been mistaken in his judgment on the events which have been the consequence of the revolution of the 10th of August. I demand the adjournment of the discussion of the report. If any one here is suspected by me, I have already named him; it is Marat." Buzot, who followed Danton, moved that it should be sent to a committee. After some partial discussion, the assembly resolved that the report should be sent to a committee of legislation. The scene was now changed; Louvet had engaged to accuse Robespierre; he darted towards the tribune to comply with his engagement; he developed, in the minutest details, Robespierre's conduct at the Jacobins from January to the 10th of August; he described him as always surrounded by hundreds of proselytes, who daily proclaimed him

him to the people as their only friend, their only defender; exaggerating incessantly his virtues, and the sacrifices he had made for his country; denouncing, pursuing with the bitterest malevolence, those whose acknowledged civism and whose talents should have protected them from such attacks. He shewed him furiously assaulting a patriotic minister, the prolongation of whose life would have saved France from a hostile invasion; calumniating in his virulent declamations all the decrees which the left side had carried against the right; proscribing the useful and sagacious measure of a camp round Paris. "At the revolution of the 10th of August," said Louvet, "he was elected a member of the provisional committee of Paris. There, supported by seven or eight members, he was seen disorganising and erecting authorities at his pleasure, and threatening the legislative assembly with the *tocsin**." Louvet was interrupted by several members, and particularly by Robespierre, who exclaimed, "That is false!" More than 100 members rose to accuse Robespierre. Louvet resumed his discourse, and exhibited Robespierre presiding

* This action of itself merited death. This sitting was a prelude, though at a distance, to that of the 9th Thermidor. Louvet failed, because Robespierre had not yet sufficiently roused the spirit of just vengeance against him?

at all the arrests ordered by the committee *de sûreté* *veillante*, and by the *commune*; decreeing warrants of arrest against the most patriotic members of the legislature; making out lists of proscription against them; ruling the electoral bodies at Paris, as he did the *commune*; and disposing of the electors at his beck. Louvet concluded with the following apostrophe: " Robespierre, I
" accuse you of having allowed your followers
" to give you the appellation of the incorruptible
" defender of the people, and of having assumed that title yourself. I accuse you of
" having been the preacher of massacre and
" proscription; of having tyrannised over the
" electoral bodies. I accuse you of having
" aspired to the supreme power; and I move
" that your conduct be examined by a committee."

Louvet also demanded a decree of accusation against Marat, who, he said, had himself supplied a valid reason, when he dared to say in the tribune that it was necessary for the support of the revolution, that many heads should yet be cut off. He thought that the convention ought not to rise without passing judgment on Marat. Lacroix observed, that the committee of public safety should be commissioned to make a report upon

upon Marat's conduct. He obtained the adjournment of the decree till the next day. Louvet proposed to examine, if the Ostracism, which was so advantageous a law in the ancient republics, might not be adopted in France. Robespierre procured a delay of eight days to prepare his justification. It should not be forgotten that Lacroix called the attention of the assembly to a serious fact advanced by Louvet, which had been contested; that important fact was, that Robespierre had appeared at the bar of the legislature to demand that the dissolution or suppression of the department of Paris, decreed by the *commune**, should be sanctioned. This petition, opposed with energy by Lacroix, was dismissed by the order of the day. Robespierre then said to Lacroix, that the tocsin would procure the adoption of that necessary measure. Lacroix re-appeared in the tribune to communicate to the assembly this menacing assertion. He observed, that some members of the convention might be assassinated, but not compelled to abandon their duty. Lacroix was prevailed upon not to go out at the gate of the *Feuillans*, where a great crowd waited for him. These details

* What audacity! what times! what anarchy! A subordinate body presumed to decree the suppression of an administrative corps, their superior in the hierarchy of powers.

augmented the indignation of the convention; and yet no consequences ensued from these denunciations. Nothing proves, more decisively, that numerous bodies of men, in general, conduct their own affairs in a worse manner than the most unenlightened individual.

It was thought necessary to enter into these details, more important than monotonous descriptions of battles, for the purpose of making known the characters of the actors who played so great a part on the theatre of the convention, and had so much influence on the destiny of France. There result from these particulars two great truths; one, that great audacity only is required to gain the domination of a large assembly; the other, that the progress of tyranny should be arrested on its outset. We should add in this place, that the minister Garat took a step then which will do him immortal honour. He hastened to produce a letter which he had received from a citizen of the name of Milaudier. This honest man informed the minister of some words which he had heard drop from the mouth of a citizen of Paris, of the section of *Marat* or of *Marjeilles*, or of the *Cordeliers*, the three names which this section successively assumed. This citizen made an apology to Milaudier for
the

the butcheries of the 2d of September, adding, that the *bleeding* had not been complete, and that a fresh massacre was in meditation, and would take place in a fortnight; that the victims designed for slaughter were those whom he called the faction of Rolland and Brissot, *viz.* Barbaroux, La Source, Guadet, Vergniaud, Genfonné, and particularly Buzot; in short, all the Girondists; and that the people would hear of none but Robespierre. Buzot moved, that a law should be passed against the apostles of murder and assassination. How many evils would France have escaped, if this law had been passed, and rigorously enforced! The whole nation ought to have demanded it. Barbaroux denounced the council general of the *commune* of Paris, and the insolent resolution of the sections. He concluded with moving, that all the battalions of the national guards in Paris should do duty with the Parisians; that the convention should dissolve the council general of the *commune*, and organize a court of justice to try the conspirators. This last proposition was another instrument put into the hands of the tyranny by Barbaroux, who was not aware of the consequences. This re-union of the legislative and executive powers was afterwards very favourable to the decemvirate.

The day at length arrived when Robespierre was to make his justification against the accusation of Louvet. His speech was alternately received with plaudits and murmurs of disapprobation. Louvet could not gain a hearing. The assembly appeared, for an hour, like the sea when furious whirlwinds agitate the waves, and forcibly drive them one against the other. This impetuous struggle, this terrible conflict of passions, was concluded by a decree of the convention to pass to the order of the day; a fatal decree, which, by excluding Louvet's accusation, was the cause of all the mischiefs that ensued.

The trial of Louis XVI. was soon to take place. This circumstance supplied the factions with fresh fuel. The great object of the Orleanists was to obtain the death of the monarch. The Girondists on that subject agreed with the Jacobins, either to preserve their popularity, or because some of them, like Carra and Brissot, wished for a change of the dynasty, and others believed, not without foundation, that the republic could not be consolidated but by the death of the king. The Maratists first proposed that he should be brought to judgment. Mailhe, of Toulouse, the reporter of the committee of legislation, presented the following questions.

“ Can

“ Can Louis XVI. be tried ? By whom ought
“ he to be tried ? Shall he be delivered over to
“ the criminal tribunals like other citizens, or shall
“ a special tribunal be created by the electoral
“ assemblies of the eighty-three departments ;
“ or is it not more natural that the convention
“ should itself decide on his fate ? Is it necessary
“ or proper to submit the judgment to the as-
“ semblies of the *commune*, or the primary as-
“ semblies, for ratification ?” These were the
questions to which the orator spoke.

“ The first question,” said the reporter, “ is
“ simple ; but it is necessary to consider it with
“ attention, not so much for yourselves, as for
“ Europe, and mankind in general. I open the
“ constitution, and I there find that the king’s
“ person is sacred and inviolable ; but that if he
“ should break his oath ; if he should put him-
“ self at the head of an army ; if he should not
“ oppose, in the name of the constitution, the
“ hostile powers ; and if he should depart the
“ realm and not return, he shall be deemed to
“ have abdicated the throne, and after that abdi-
“ cation, he re-enters the class of the other citi-
“ zens, and consequently may be tried. Is it
“ then to be understood that the king, while he
“ can elude deposition, may commit every crime
“ with impunity, and that he shall escape with

“ the mere loss of his crown ? No ! The sys-
“ tem of the king’s inviolability can be only
“ meant to render the executive entirely inde-
“ pendent of the legislative power. When the
“ danger of this inviolability was perceived, the
“ intention was to guard against it, by establishing
“ the responsibility of ministers for all the acts
“ of the executive.

“ But here ministerial responsibility cannot
“ be called in aid ; Louis XVI. cannot impute
“ to his agents those crimes which he has com-
“ mitted alone, and without their assistance ; he
“ should be personally responsible for those of-
“ fences of which he has been personally guilty.
“ It may be objected, perhaps, that the power
“ of the legislative body, being limited to the de-
“ position, in the cases described by the constitu-
“ tion, every other sentence was out of its power,
“ and beyond the bounds of its duty. This ob-
“ jection has some foundation, but a reply is easy.
“ The legislative body, tied down by the precise
“ provisions of the constitution, would have de-
“ viated more criminally from the path of their
“ duty, in suffering the public interest to be ex-
“ posed to destruction ; and if any accusation of
“ illegality could be made, the reply of the men
“ of the 10th of August should be, *We have*
“ *saved our country.*

“ There

“ There remains to be examined the last ob-
 “ jection which can be made. It may be said,
 “ that deposition being the only punishment,
 “ pronounced by the constitution, against a cri-
 “ minal king, no other punishment can be in-
 “ flicted. I answer, that the king’s deposition
 “ has not been pronounced; but the abolition of
 “ royalty decreed. Louis XVI. has not been
 “ dethroned; he has not therefore been punished,
 “ but he deserves punishment.

“ What do I say? Is it in your power to
 “ avoid punishing Louis XVI.? Shall the blood
 “ which has dyed the waves of the Meuse and
 “ the Moselle be shed with impunity? Do you
 “ not hear the voice of the citizens, who perished
 “ on the 10th of August, and who carried with
 “ them to the tomb the hope and the right of
 “ vengeance? The smoking ruins of Lille, and
 “ the gates of Longwy and Verdun, marks of
 “ the monarch’s crimes, bear testimony against
 “ him, and demand his head.

“ It remains to decide by whom the *ci-*
 “ *devant* king should be tried. On this subject
 “ many opinions have been brought forward in
 “ the committee of legislation. It has been pro-
 “ posed to send Louis before the ordinary tribu-

“ nals, at the same time deputing four *procu-*
“ *tors*, who should bear the same rank in those
“ tribunals, as in the chief national court. This
“ proposal was not adopted. It appeared to
“ your committee better that the *ci-devant* king
“ should be tried by the national convention;
“ and this I have been commissioned to pro-
“ pose.”

After this report, Mailhe read the plan of a decree; the fundamental propositions were to decree that Louis XVI. should be tried; that his trial should be before the national convention; that all the proceedings should be communicated to him; and that he should have the liberty of replying, either verbally, or in writing.

The assembly decreed that the report and the plan of the decree should be printed, sent to all the departments, and translated into all languages.

We have literally transcribed the report brought up from the committee. We shall notice its errors. The reporter, in inquiring whether Louis XVI. ought to be tried, advanced, as we have seen, that the nation had not punished the king by the abolition of royalty, and had therefore reserved to itself the right of trial; but
this

this question was presented in a point of view equally nugatory and fallacious. The suppression of royalty was not a direct punishment inflicted on Louis XVI., but the nation had already punished him by decreeing his suspension and deposition. Mailhe should have said: "Louis has been punished by being deposed, for crimes committed against the constitution, and of which the punishment had been declared. Reduced to the condition of a simple individual, he now ought to be tried for other crimes of which he may have been guilty, and for the commission of which the law has provided punishment." Mailhe remarked, with justice, that the convention was invested with greater powers than the house of commons which tried Charles I.; but he should have added, that those powers were entrusted to them, not for the purpose of uniting and usurping them all, but that part of them should be delegated in the name of the nation. There is neither liberty nor justice in a state, where the same men are at once legislators, ministers, and judges. Louis, standing in the situation of a private individual, should have been accused and tried by a jury; should have been allowed the power of challenging, and, in short, all the forms which have been invented for the preservation of the rights of the accused. When, therefore,

therefore, Desèze, one of the three advocates chosen by the monarch, uttered, in his eloquent defence, these memorable words. "Excuse the frankness of a free-man; I look among you for judges, I find only accusers!" confusion was spread over the countenances of all the members of the convention, amongst whom there still remained some principles of justice and humanity.

We cannot but avow, that the most disgusting circumstance attending this event is, in our opinion, that the deputies, particularly those who voted for the king's death, were not ashamed to print their opinions long before the trial, and to bring forward every motive which could make against the accused; thus they became individually accusers. Were they ignorant, that every judge, who gives his opinion beforehand, is not only disqualified to sit in judgment, but ought to absent himself, even if he were not challenged? The assembly should also have ordered d'Orleans to withdraw. This deputy, no less stupid than ferocious, did not comprehend that he was sullyng his character with a fresh, but useless stain. He might the more easily have avoided it, because he must have been certain, that his victim could not escape.

It

It has been reported, we cannot vouch for the fact, that d'Orleans, hearing that Pelletier de Saint Fargeau had given an entertainment to twenty-five of his colleagues, for the purpose of engaging them not to vote for the death of the king; and that he had solemnly pledged his honour to adopt the same conduct, went to Saint Fargeau, and said to him, " You are lost, if you do not vote for the death. Engage your friends to break their vow, and I promise you an alliance with my family." Saint Fargeau, seduced or intimidated, brought round his twenty-five friends. If this be so, a few words procured twenty-six voices against the king. What renders the circumstance probable is, that Saint Fargeau was the only deputy who was assassinated for having given his vote on that side. If he had not been guilty of this treachery, the assassin would, undoubtedly, have selected for victims other deputies, who were more active in the transaction. On the evening preceding the execution of Louis, he dined at a tavern in the *Palais Royal*. A man accosted him, and said, " You gave your word of honour, that you and twenty-five of your friends would not vote for the king's death. You have sold your suffrage, and those of your friends. Wretch ! receive the reward of your perjury."

At these words, he plunged his sabre into his heart, and escaped. It has been supposed, that Saint Fargeau spoke some memorable words, while he was breathing his last. He said only, *I am cold* *.

We think that Louis XVI. deserved death, for having wished to dissolve the constituent body by means of an armed force; for having permitted the white or black cockade to be worn at the orgies of Versailles; for his exertions at the time of the blockade of Paris; and even for his flight to Varennes, because that was the origin of the civil war. But having been

* The *foi-disant* patriotic journals have not informed us of the reproach made to him by the assassin. The words attributed to this deputy have been engraved on a pyramidal column. It is not, however, possible for a man to utter many words, when he is pierced through the heart. We say, the *foi-disant* patriotic journals; and here it is worthy remark, once for all, that those journals termed patriotic, were almost all in the pay of the Orleanists. They almost unanimously demanded a Dictator. Their sentiments were exaggerated; but it must be allowed that, in the first crisis of the revolution, this exaggeration, though it has since produced very great evils, was necessary to excite the fanaticism of liberty, the most sublime and the most dangerous of all fanaticism. History ought equally to avoid exaggeration and falsehood. So sacred a cause does not require the support of fiction; and patriotism never consisted in the suppression of truth.

once

once judged by the convention, none of these crimes could justly be brought forward against him; and to conclude, the convention ought never to have been his judges. He suffered his punishment on the 21st of January 1793.

This prince, though by nature pusillanimous, behaved on the scaffold with firmness and resignation. He had reason to be disgusted with life. Besides, he was a fanatic; and those consolatory sentiments were at least useful to him in his last moments. A simple majority of five condemned to death the descendant of sixty-six kings. He had restored to France, indeed, against his inclination, her national assemblies. The first deprived him of his authority, the second of his liberty, and the third of his life. He wished to harangue the people from the scaffold; but he was prevented by the beating of drums.

As soon as the convention were acquainted with Dumouriez's defection, the Brissotines were eager to bring forward against their adversaries the first accusation of Orleanism. It must be confessed, that a great number of the Brissotines or Girondists were true republicans, and adverse to the Orleanist party. As all the factions
equally

equally affected to be republicans, the Maratists, the Orleanists, the Cordeliers, and Jacobins, contented themselves with retorting on the Girondists the charge of Orleanism; they soon after applied to them the terms, *Statesmen* and *Federalists*; and accused them of wishing to establish a federal republic. As nobody was desirous of being thought an Orleanist, one of the first decrees was, that d'Orleans should be narrowly watched; a second, moved by Carrier the Jacobin, ordered his arrest. He was sent to Marseilles, and acquitted by the tribunal of the *Bouches du Rhone*; but was not set at liberty, because an order of the committee of public safety forbade it, though the judges had granted his freedom. Amar in the name of the committee of general safety, prepared another act of accusation against him. He was reconducted to Paris, and tried a second time by the revolutionary tribunal, at the command of the *decemvirs*, to whose ambition the very name of d'Orleans gave offence. He was condemned to lose his head on the scaffold. The day of his death was the only one on which he acted like a man and a prince; the only one on which he displayed any symptoms of firmness. Though he merited the severest punishment, it must yet be allowed, that having been once acquitted, though
contrary

contrary to justice, he should not have been tried again. More than once, during the revolution, has this new mode of legal, or rather illegal, assassination been put in practice.

On the same day, the 13th of April 1793, on which the accusation of d'Orleans was decreed, a similar decree, after very violent debates, was passed against Marat. They had also, some days previously, ordered the arrest of Dumouriez, Valence, and *Egalité*, the ridiculous name which the *Duc de Chartres* had taken. His father affected also to assume the same name.

When the decree of accusation was passed against Marat, he had the insolence to menace the assembly nearly in the same style with the Roman conspirator Catiline. Marat said, *They wish to excite an insurrection; they shall have it.* The Jacobins and the Cordeliers did not fail to unite, when the destruction of their adversaries was in question. The zealous republicans, who were not aware of their secret intentions, always ranged themselves on their side, regarding them as excellent republicans, because, as we have already remarked, no society was ever so well skilled in the art of concealing their designs, and of deluding the minds of a whole nation,

nation, as the Jacobins. The insurrection announced by Marat was not long before it broke out. Isnard denounced the plot to the convention on the 10th of May. The assembly decreed, that twelve commissioners should be formed out of its own members, to discover and prosecute the conspirators. These commissioners were guilty of a great fault, considering the circumstances in which the convention was placed. Their report, an opportunity for making which, the first being neglected, never afterwards occurred, should have been the first of their operations. It was also impolitic, previous to their presenting a report, which would have opened the eyes even of the most prejudiced, to apprehend Hebert, procurator of the *commune* of Paris, and author of a journal, the most polluted, the most disgusting, the most cynical, and, at the same time, the most sanguinary, that has ever seen the light. The journal was entitled, *Feuille du père Duchêne*: the multitude were intoxicated with it: Hebert had obtained a popularity which was really astonishing and gigantic. He was, moreover, supported by the powerful factions of the Maratists and Orleanists, that is to say, by the Jacobins and Cordeliers. On the 25th of May 1793, a deputation from the council general of the *commune* demanded
of

of the convention Hebert's enlargement, saying, that he had been apprehended by an arbitrary exertion of power, and in violation of the liberty of the press. Pache was then mayor of Paris: Santerre had just quitted the command of the national guard at Paris, to take the command of a part of our troops in *La Vendée*. He was a brewer, and scarcely acquainted even with the elements of military tactics. We think it proper to transcribe here the eloquent and just reply made by Isnard, deputy of *La Gironde**, and then president of the convention, to the insolent deputation of the commune. "Magistrates of "the people," said he, "it is necessary that "you should hear truths of importance to this "great city. France has entrusted to your "protection the representatives of the nation; "she demands security for them at your hands. "If the national representation is to be incessantly violated by these perpetually reviving "conspiracies, which have been so carelessly "watched, with which we have been surrounded since the 10th of March, and of which "the magistrates have been the last to give

* Vergniaux and Isnard were more eloquent than Mirabeau, both in their writings and in their speeches; but they wanted his profound knowledge and information. Isnard survived the proscription.

"intelligence; I declare to you, in the name
" of the republic, that Paris shall experience
" her vengeance, and the astonished traveller
" shall inquire on which side of the Seine that
" celebrated city stood!" It will be seen, in
the progress of this work, what a perfidious in-
terpretation the *decemvirs* gave to these last
words.

On the 30th of May, the commission of
twelve demanded permission to make their re-
port. They could not obtain a hearing. The
predominant faction, and the insurrection of the
sections, prevented this report from being made,
which would have thrown great light on the
conduct of the conspirators, and which would
the more easily have prevented the evil conse-
quences which ensued, because the committee
had several pieces of convincing evidence to
produce, of which we shall have occasion to take
notice.

If the political situation of France was alarm-
ing, on account of the revolutionary, or rather
counter-revolutionary, storm, which began to
lower in the political atmosphere at Paris, and
in the heart of the senate, the crisis was no less
terrible in the military transactions. The Spa-
niards

niards had got possession of Bellegarde; the English had made themselves masters of Toulon by their correspondence in that town; the insurgents in *La Vendée* spread devastation over the neighbouring departments; the King of Sardinia was making preparations to reconquer Savoy; the Prussians, having made themselves masters of Mayence after an obstinate siege, were approaching Landau; the Austrians had taken Condé, and were besieging Valenciennes; the republican army had been repulsed between Bouchain and Cambray; Valenciennes had no communication with the rest of the forces; Cambray was even disposed to open its gates to the enemy. This campaign, as we before remarked, every where began with the most terrible reverses of fortune; and if there was a certain degree of magnanimity, in trying and condemning Louis XVI., at the very moment when we were, if we may use the expression, at the mouth of the enemy's cannon, it was, at the same time, great madness in the factions to be active, even almost to their own destruction, in exciting the most violent commotions in the assembly, and in the capital. Nothing proves more decisively that the passions incline men to sacrifice every thing, even their own safety, for

their gratification. Nothing so certainly ensures the triumph of an enemy as these divisions; and all these parties were certain of perishing on the block, if the coalesced armies had succeeded.

The most disastrous insurrection broke out at Paris. The *tocsin* was rung on the whole of the night of the 30th of May. On the 31st, the sections came to the convention, and demanded, in an imperious tone, a decree of accusation against thirty-two members already marked out; and they added the names of Dussaux, Fonfrède, and Isnard. Marat, in spite of the decree of accusation, had been carried in triumph into the convention. Hebert, who was as vile and as ferocious as Marat, had also been liberated from confinement. Marat erased two or three names in the list of the proscribed deputies. Those who were put under arrest were, in general, with a very few exceptions, men of the greatest and the most ardent attachment to liberty in the convention. These illustrious victims were, Lanjuinais, Vergniaux, Guadet, Genfonnè, Lehardi, Petion, Boileau, Biroteau, Valazé, Gommaire, l'Hesdinière, Kervelegan, Mollevaux, Bergoing, Barbaroux, Lidon, Buzot, Lafource, Rabaut, Brissot, Salle, Isnard, Chambon,

Chambon, Gorgas, Grangeneuve, Lesage, Vigée, Louvet, and Henri Larivière.

The convention ordered the avenues of the assembly to be opened, and the guard to be removed. They appeared at the Thuilleries, the Carrouzel, in the midst of the people; armed and insurgent, but calm. Thus terminated this commotion, so terrible and so afflicting to the friends of freedom. The deputies apprehended on this calamitous day were never afterwards able to induce the committee of public safety, which was under the absolute controul of Robespierre, to make a report on the crimes imputed to them; an additional proof of their innocence. We shall have frequent occasion of recurring to this day, in the course of this history. The reader will not be able to consider, without compassion, the detail of the sufferings endured by all those unfortunate victims, in their attempts to escape the horrors of death; he will shed tears on the tomb of those who were not able to avoid the axe of the executioner, and the rage of their persecutors, who had, as Carrier confessed he had, in his mission to *La Vendée*, orders the most precise to discover, if possible, the retreat of Buzot, and the others, who, they imagined, had taken refuge in that part of the

F 3

country.

country. The decemviral tyranny took date from this day. In the following book, we shall relate the consequences of these events. But it is necessary, previous to these details, to take a nearer view of the military transactions, and of the troubles in the departments and in the colonies.

BOOK XXV.

Commutations in La Lozere.—Sequel of the War of La Vendée.—Principal Causes of the Origin and Duration of that War.—Bombardment of Lyons.—Reflections on that Event.—Siege of Toulon.—Capture of that important Place.—Summary of our military Operations in the North, in the West, and in the South, from the Battle of Gemappe to the 1st of Vendemiaire of the fifth Year of the Republic (22d September 1796).—The Affair at Quiberon.—The Character and System of Pitt.—Digression on our Colonies.—The Decree, which ordered the Ashes of J. J. Rousseau to be transferred to the Pantheon.

WHILE subtle conspirators were exciting Paris against the national representation, royalism and fanaticism exerted themselves on all sides.

sides. An ex-constituent, named Charlier, wished to make *La Lozere* a second *La Vendée*; but the republican energy of the surrounding departments stifled the flame in its commencement. Charlier was taken prisoner. The ever-reviving hydra of *La Vendée* renewed the prodigies of fabulous story. The soldiers of the catholic army, like Proteus, incessantly eluded the vigilance of their antagonists, though perpetually appearing in their sight. They escaped at the very moment that escape was thought impossible; and, after every defeat, reared their heads with fresh vigour, and in greater numbers. The caverns, the woods, the rocks, and the marshes of the west alternately concealed and poured out this horde of *ci-devant* valets and poachers, smugglers, and fanatic preachers of fanaticism, emigrants secretly returned, ex-nobles, and peasants. They were every where, and yet, at times, were to be discovered no where. Spread over a surface of forty square leagues, with every corner of which they were perfectly acquainted, they never appeared in a body, but when they imagined themselves certain of success. It was a true war of armed robbers. Add to this, that the manifold treachery of our generals, and especially of Marée and Quétinau, the wretched

F 4

conduct

conduct of others*, particularly Beysser, Rosignol, and Roufin, the inexperience and want of capacity of Santerre, the interest which the *decemvirs* had to rekindle the war, when it was nearly extinguished, if we except, indeed, the serious repulse which the *Capetians* of *La Vendée* experienced at their hands, when they began to be too formidable. Reflect also on the atrocious conduct of some of the proconsuls sent by the *decemvirs* into those countries, in order the more effectually to exasperate the wretched inhabitants, and you will have an adequate and just idea of that civil war, in which such crimes were committed as would have made armed cannibals shudder. The threefold rage of fanaticism, revenge, and party-spirit was displayed in all its horrors. The victims were interred

* The unfortunate Philippeaux was proscribed and sacrificed by the *decemvirs*, for having denounced their treachery. Biron, the predecessor of all these generals, expiated his moderation with his head; in like manner, General Brunet was slaughtered, for the fault he committed in having been desirous of re-establishing discipline in the army of the Alps. For every thing is a crime in the eyes of tyrants, or rather, every thing serves them as a pretext for the destruction of those whose ruin they meditate. The *decemvirs* found, in the war of *La Vendée*, a sepulchre, which entombed at once the two parties they most dreaded, the royalists and the republicans.

alive ;

alive; they only half buried them, the better to enjoy and prolong their torments. Priests invented and ordered these refinements in cruelty. Carrier alone was able to equal them in ferocity. The armies of the republic gained several victories over these counter-revolutionary banditti. A dreadful slaughter was made of them at Beaupreau, at Chollet, at Mans, at Ancenis, and at Saveni. It would be equally useless and fatiguing to enumerate all those battles; but we cannot but make mention here of the heroic courage with which the inhabitants of Granville, within their own walls, sustained a long and bloody contest, which terminated in the defeat of the marauders. Nantes, menaced by fifty thousand of the catholic army, by its resistance, saved the country, and acquired immortal renown. Lastly, the *Chouans* or *Vendeeans*, united with a troop of emigrants, whom the English evidently sent to destruction, when they landed them on our coasts, were completely defeated at Quiberon. General Hoche had the glory of terminating this war, by the union of moderation and energy, of wisdom and valour; by presenting, in one hand, the branch of peace, in the other, the sword of victory, when the chiefs of the Vendeeans had violated the treaty, which the indulgence of the conven-

tion, and perhaps the exigency of the times, had granted them after the revolution of the 9th of *Thermidor*. It is certain that the national dignity was degraded by this treaty, and that they abandoned the maxim from which ancient Rome never swerved, even in the greatest perils, of never treating with an enemy but when subdued. The representatives of the people negotiated with these rebels as one power with another; but it is only justice to remark, that, independently of the first of laws, necessity, it was better to sacrifice a vain dignity, an impolitic pride, to the hope of preventing fresh murders, and the effusion of fresh torrents of blood. The Romans, indeed, never had like us at once a civil war in the heart of the country, and the whole of Europe to repel from without. The trumpets of calumny and malevolence noised abroad, that the *Vendeeans* were promised the re-establishment of the regal power. They were promised nothing but a just government, and the free exercise of their religious worship.

The impious and deplorable war of *La Vendée* was not the only scourge under which we groaned. The hostility which the conspirators in the convention, and the Jacobins, openly declared against rich men and merchants, against whom they

they had imagined the word and invented the absurd crime of *negociantism*; the disastrous events of the 31st of May; the accusations, the innumerable proscriptions and arbitrary arrests of which we shall soon have occasion to speak; in short, the sanguinary motions of Chabot, the Marat of Lyons, together with the great interest which the decemvirs had in exasperating men's minds, in order to throw them more effectually into the arms of the dictators; but, above all, the design of putting in execution, through the medium of the greatest terror, a formal plan, whose existence we shall hereafter prove *, of annihilating those towns which were capable, from their extent, of resisting at a future period their tyranny, pro-

* The tyrants pretended, and induced their agents to believe, that France had not sufficient corn for the support of her inhabitants, and that therefore it was necessary to reduce their numbers to eight millions. Those of their tools who perished on the scaffold after the 9th of *Thermidor*, and many deputies, declared, that they had heard Carrier support this barbarous system. We ourselves have heard him: He was sincere in his belief. The seeds of ferocity which he carried in his breast made him overlook the horror of the project, and his ignorance enabled him to adopt any thing. Nobody can be a more decisive proof than he, that an imperfect knowledge is as fatal as absolute ignorance, and sometimes more so. It is because we have had so many who were half-instructed in political science, that we have seen those false principles advanced, which have produced so much mischief. The half-instructed have pretensions which the ignorant have not.

duced

duced the siege and bombardment of that unfortunate city. It was pretended, but without any sincerity, that they were inclined to adopt conciliatory methods with the Lyonese; the whole of Lyons was royalist in the eyes of the tyrants, because the majority of the good citizens of that town execrated Cromwellists and imperious usurpers.

When Couthon marched into Lyons with the triumphant army of the republic, more than 2000 of the inhabitants were butchered without form of law, or, which is still more dreadful, with the appearance of a trial, which they called military. The *decemvirs* extorted from the convention a decree which deprived that city even of its name. To insult her victims with derision and with irony is the height of cruelty; that was the character of our tyrants. They called Lyons, which they had spoiled of its inhabitants, the *freed commune*. Alas! it was a deserted and enslaved commune.

If the interior of the republic presents nothing to the historian of the French revolution, but a long series, but a frightful accumulation, of crimes and of follies, of infamy and calamities, until the epoch of the 9th of Thermidor (27th July)

1794, some consolation is at least afforded him in the contemplation of the brilliant spectacle with which the rapid success of our armies presents him. Royalism had betrayed Toulon to the gold of Pitt. The English, who imagined themselves free under an hereditary monarch; who had been the oppressors of their own colonies in America; who had lately in a cowardly manner put to the sword 300 Frenchmen in a neutral country near Genoa, did not fail to unite with our enemies, and to enter into the coalition of despots. They were vanquished at Dunkirk, now called *Dane-libre*, and at the battle of Hondschote. They failed at Brest, at Cherbourg, at St. Malo, and at Granville, but succeeded at Toulon. It was necessary to retake this important place, which was at the same time overawed and defended by a triple battery, by a double line of posts, by a fortified camp, by 2000 chosen troops, and by the cross fires of three redoubts manned with 3000 soldiers. The French advanced through the midst of flames and bayonets. Generals Dugommier and Lapoype, who directed the attack, carried the forts, and the redoubts of Toulon were evacuated. Treason had also put the Spaniards in possession of Port Vendre, Bagnols, and Collioure; the army of the Pyrenees speedily avenged
our

our defeats. After several victories, which afforded the republicans an entry into the Spanish dominions, the sovereign of that kingdom was reduced to the necessity of concluding a peace, and of ceding to us his possessions in St. Domingo. Before we terminate the account of the war with Spain, we should not forget to remark, that the deputy Fabre de l'Herault was the first of our legislators who had the honour of dying sword in hand. The convention decreed him the honours of the Pantheon, together with generals Haxo, Moulin, Dampierre, Dugommier, and Dagobert, who died fighting for their country; the first two in *La Vendée*, Dampierre with the army of the north, and Dugommier and Dagobert with that of the Pyrenees. The capture of Toulon, Port Vendre, St. Elme, and Bellegarde will, above all, hand down to the remotest posterity the name of Dugommier.

The convention decreed, that the armies of the eastern and western Pyrenees had deserved well of their country. A similar decree was passed in favour of the armies of the Moselle and the Rhine, of the Sambre and the Meuse, and of the Alps. A loud cry of victory resounded from the north to the south, from the Alps to the Rhine. The Austrians were in possession

session of the lines of Weissenbourg, and the soil of liberty, or that, at least, which was desirous of freedom, fell a prey to the slaves of crowned heads, from Landau to Strasbourg, from Fort Vauban to Saverne. The recapture of Valenciennes and Condé was as yet of no service; at length, however, the army of the Moselle made a junction with that of the Rhine, commanded by General Hoche. The enemy were intrenched on the heights of Leishoffen, Condershoffen, Frechevillers, and Verth, and had erected triple batteries, as formidable as those of Gemappe. Victory did not, however, desert the standards of the republic. Day after day repeated attacks were crowned with repeated successes. In the meantime the right wing of our army took possession of Offendorf, and pursued the enemy to the walls of Fort Vauban. Landau was not yet relieved. Hoche signalled his nomination to the chief command by a victory at Greisbern. Attacked in four different quarters, at more than 10 leagues distance from each other, the enemy were routed on all sides. All the rapid evolutions, the false attacks, the marches and counter-marches, and the military science, so profoundly studied by the generals of despotism, were rendered useless by the bayonets and impetuosity of the republicans. A charge of six hours decided the victory, and effected the deliverance

deliverance of Landau. Pichegru was the first to enter the town. Conqueror on various important occasions, he developed those great talents which he afterwards displayed with so much glory in his campaign in Holland. The enemy escaped under favour of the night. The lines of Weissembourg were the next day restored to the republic. The Austrians were defeated at Greisbern; the Prussians at Kelesberg, and afterwards at Oppenheim, four leagues from Mayence. Our troops made themselves masters of Guermesheim, a place of importance for the preservation of Landau. Spires and Neudstat, Keyserlautern, and Kreutznach, Frankenthal, and Worms, fell into our hands. The genius of victory also hovered over the armies of the north, commanded by Jourdan on the side of Landrecy and Quesnoi. After this series of battles and of success, the representatives of the people, who, marching at the head of their companies, brought to recollection those Romans who by turns presided in the senate, and took the command of armies, issued a proclamation, which in a single line contained more than six volumes of our ancient eulogies and academical discourses: *Republicans, you have done your duty.* Thus it is that by degrees a government changes, modifies, and molds at pleasure, the character of a people

people. Thus it is that the French, in proportion as they become republicans, will unite the dignity and laconicism of the Spartans, with the Roman majesty and the Athenian urbanity and elegance.

The army of the Alps equalled the other triumphant armies of the republic in courage and success. If the painter, the poet, and the historian of the revolution could no longer sleep, in like manner, the brave defenders of liberty knew no repose. Torrents, snow, fogs, the privation of all the necessaries of life, and of every comfort, a privation which the safety and honour of the country demanded, inferiority of numbers, nothing abated their ardour, nothing enfeebled their *civism*, nothing shook their firmness. They gained the most important and obstinately disputed victories, against generals and commanders of the most distinguished merit, at Castel-Gineste, at Saorgio, as our armies in the north had triumphed over the first generals in Europe, Brunswick, Cobourg, and Hohenloo. The army of the Alps took Ormea, though that fort was situated in a strong position, and defended by surrounding heights, by impregnable posts, and by 1500 Austrians. We shall see, in the conclusion of this history, the still

more astonishing success of Buonaparte in 1796, in the very heart of Italy. That country, enfeebled by the intolerant government of a priest, will probably see a new republic erect itself in its bosom; and the conditions which we shall impose on the Roman pontiff, will be an expiation of the assassination of Bassville, the French ambassador, in 1793; an assassination manifestly encouraged by the Pope.

Enthusiasm may create land-forces, and supply the place of military skill. Valour may stand in the stead of experience, and triumph over it; but it is not the same in naval tactics. A navy can only be created by time and experience. For this reason, our navy has never had the same success as our land-forces. Treachery and inexperience, but, more frequently, inequality of numbers*, and sometimes contrary winds, rendered the attempts of our frigates generally inefficient. At length, however, our fleet began to be re-organized. The English minister grew pale with rage, and undoubtedly perceived that he had been committing fruitless crimes. Pitt, the ambitious Pitt, has survived his reputation.

* Our author has been apparently deceived by the reports of *Barrere*, and other equally credible witnesses, in the convention.

His genius did not enable him to calculate the exertions which a people eager for freedom are capable of making. He reckoned too much on our divisions, which had, in reality, assumed the most alarming appearance. The English attempted to strengthen the coalition with Prussia and Russia. Every thing seemed to announce, that the attempt would be ineffectual, and that the last moment of their despotism on the seas was at hand. Holland, which Pichegru had subdued with the rapidity of lightning, and in a manner more advantageous than Dumouriez, is already formed into a republic, in alliance with our own, and is an additional weight in the balance against England. I see no hope for England, but in the disasters we may experience from having penetrated too far into Germany.

The conquest of Holland, facilitated by the famous battle of Fleurus, effected by general Jourdan on the 8th *Messidor* (26th of June) of the third year of the republic, terminated that memorable campaign, which was called the campaign of 1793, though it lasted two years, because it began in 1793, and the severities of the winter of 1793 and 1794 allowed no interval, gave no interruption. The Prince of Cobourg collected all his forces, and an immense

train of artillery. He was vanquished, and the French Scipio * triumphed over this second Hannibal, after a most obstinate contest. It is worthy of remark, that the victory at Fleurus was owing, in great measure, to the observations which Jourdan was enabled to make by means of the ascent of an aëronaut, who hovered over the enemy's army, and watched their motions. Another singularity, which merits attention in this series of combats, is the manner in which, on the 7th *Floreale* (26th of April) preceding, general Charbonnier forced the passage of Bossut. Three times did the Austrian cavalry charge our infantry in the plain; three times did our infantry march to encounter the charge with bayonets fixed, and put them to rout. This is the first instance since the battle of Pharsalia, in which infantry has opposed a regular resistance to cavalry. We shall relate, in the latter part of this work, the sequel of our military operations in Italy and Germany.

M. de Calonne says, in a work lately published in London, that the young emperor, from the month of May 1794, after the capture of Landreci, found himself, at the head of his

* General Jourdan.

troops, which he animated by his presence, in a situation resembling that of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792. Like him, having subdued every thing which advanced to resist his career, he approached within the distance of forty-five leagues from Paris; but he suffered, says M. de Calonne, this fortunate opportunity, which would have immortalized his memory, to be lost. He was persuaded, adds the author, that it was necessary to fall back, and lead his troops to the defence of his own frontiers, which were attacked by the French, for the sole purpose of calling his attention to that side; and he should have been convinced, that it was at Paris alone he would be able to recover what had been wrested from him in Austrian Flanders. We do not agree with M. de Calonne. The skilful manœuvres of generals Pichegru and Jourdan, and the advantages gained by the French, were the causes of the emperor's retreat, that he might not expose his army to the danger of being entirely surrounded.

Thus it was that, in 1793, the army in Flanders, commanded by Cobourg, at first experienced nothing but fruitless triumphs, and afterwards a series of continual disasters; and that,

at the same period, the army of Alsace, commanded by Wurmsler, after having over-run Alsace, forced, in one day, the famous lines of Weissenbourg, dispersed the French army, and taken Lauterbourg, Haguenau, and Fort-Louis, saw all its success limited to these advantages, was harassed by perpetual attacks, and finally driven from the formidable post of the lines of Motter. The Austrian troops stood in need of all the Duke of Brunswick's skill to effect their retreat, leaving the Palatinate and a part of Germany at the mercy of the republican troops. It was thus, that, in the second campaign of 1792, the enemy concluded their campaign by failing before Maubeuge: in the same manner, in the first campaign, Brunswick, after being defeated at St. Menehould, must have perished or been taken, with his whole army, in the plains of Champagne. Independently of the superiority of our artillery, to which we have generally been indebted for our success, a failure is the usual consequence of every invasion of a country, in the interior of which the enemy has not a powerful party, and certain intelligence. This cause made us apprehend, that, notwithstanding the first success of generals Jourdan and Moreau, our armies of the Sambre and the Meuse

Meuse were fruitlessly exhausting themselves beyond the Rhine, and would gather only barren laurels. It must be observed, we are speaking of the present campaign of 1796.

So many triumphs gained by our armies in the north, in the west, and the south, even to the present time, over so many legions vomited out upon us from the northern caverns, undoubtedly present to our view a most sublime spectacle. These triumphs are the more glorious, since we obtained them over veteran and disciplined troops, commanded by the most celebrated generals. It was the triumph of liberty over slavery. All the ancient routine, all the military prejudices, have been overthrown. It will always be a glorious sight to behold raw recruits badly armed, almost naked, and without provisions, stopping the impetuous career of the united hordes of all the countries in Europe. Nations will be eternally astonished at the contemplation of labourers, accustomed to the peaceful toil of the fields, and of youths of the first requisition, for the most part reared in the lap of idleness, and amidst the delights of dissipation, dispersing, while they sung hymns to liberty, those silent cohorts, which were greedy

of spoil, profoundly skilled in military tactics, and conducted by the most experienced masters of the art of war. With what laudable avidity, with what sacred enthusiasm, will not the descendants of our heroes peruse these annals of the glory of their forefathers? Will not posterity repeat, in a tone of admiration, the names of those modest men, who, born in a class formerly disdained, have equalled, in their essays, the glory of the greatest generals? It is certain, that the wars of the Greeks and Romans present us with nothing comparable to our military events. They were not divided among themselves; they had not a host of crowned heads to engage at the same time. Rome contended only with Hannibal, Greece with Xerxes.

Alas! we have had, and we shall still have, in the course of this history, so many crimes to relate, that the reader, without doubt, will rest his wearied imagination with pleasure, with affection, on the Table, which we have drawn up in columns, and which we have thought fit to subjoin, of the principal victories or actions which have immortalized our arms. It will be remarked, that our citizen-soldiers,

soldiers, unaccustomed to the toils of war, have scarcely ever been in winter-quarters; and that it was during the winter of 1794, one of the longest and most severe which history mentions, that the most brilliant exploits were performed. The wars of lying Athens have been written in the most emphatic terms of the most extravagant adulation; the combats of the heroes of liberty ought to be related with the most scrupulous veracity, and with republican simplicity. The mere display of the simple facts is sufficient praise. We have confined ourselves to the notice of the most eminent, and we omit an infinite number, which antiquity would not have permitted to have been lost to her glory.

NAMES
of the
ARMIES.

NAMES OF THE GENERALS.

DATES
of the
BATTLES.

DUMOURIEZ.

North.	Battle of Gemappe, in which 40,000 French dislodged 28,000 Austrians, intrenched on hills de- fended by more than 40 redoubts, each of 20 guns of a large calibre. 3000 of the enemy slain.	Nov. 7, 1792.
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HOUCARD.

North.	Battle of Hondſchoote, gained by 16,000 republicans against 18,000 of the combined forces. 6000 of the enemy killed and wounded.	Sept. 8, 1793, the first year of the republic.
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JOURDAN.

North.	Battle of Watignies, against the Austrians, gained after a two days fight, and three assaults at the point of the bayonet. 6000 Austrians killed.	25th and 26th Vendemiaire, 2d year (Sept. 4 and 5, 1793).
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DUGOMMIER.

Italy.	An action by 600 republicans, who fought 11 hours without ar- tillery, and repulsed 4000 Austrians, Croats, and Piedmontese, with six pieces of artillery.	27th Vende- miaire, 2d year (Sept. 6, 1793).
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DUGOMMIER.

Italy.	The redoubts and intrenchments, which defended Toulon, carried by assault. Capture of 13 pieces of cannon.	25th Frimaire, 2d year (Dec. 15, 1793).
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HOCHE.

NAMES
of the
ARMIES.

NAMES OF THE GENERALS.

DATES
of the
BATTLES.

HOCHE.

Rhine and Moselle united.	{ Defeat of the enemy at Werdt. Several redoubts carried at the point of the bayonet. Capture of 16 cannon and 24 carriages.	2d Nivose, 2d year (Dec. 22, 1793).
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PICHEGRU.

Rhine and Moselle united.	{ All the intrenchments of Bischweiler, Drusenheim, and Haguenau. 1000 prisoners.	3d Nivose, 2d year (Dec. 23, 1793).
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HOCHE.

Rhine and Moselle united.	{ The enemy forced to evacuate the lines of Lauter and Weissenbourg, and to raise the blockade of Landau.	7th Nivose, 2d year (Dec. 27, 1793).
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HAXO.

Noirmoutier.	{ Capture of the isle of Noirmoutier, of 50 pieces of cannon and 800 fusils from the rebels in La Vendée.	14th Nivose, 2d year (Jan. 3, 1794).
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MULLER, Generalissimo.

FREGEVILLE, Commander.

Western Pyrenees.	{ Defeat of 16,000 Spaniards, at Urrugne and Chauvin-Dragon, by 5000 republicans. 1200 of the enemy killed.	17th Pluviose, 2d year (Feb. 5, 1794).
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BIZANNET, Commander.

Italy.	{ The camp of Fougasse, filled by 2000 Piedmontese and Austrians, carried by 600 French after eight hours fight.	17th Germinal, 2d year (April 6, 1794).
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DAGO.

NAMES
of the
ARMIES.

NAMES OF THE GENERALS.

DATES
of the
BATTLES.

DAGOBERT, Commander.

Eastern Pyrenees.	{	Defeat of the Spaniards at Monteilla. Capture of Urgel and seven pieces of cannon.	}	21st Germinal, 2d year (April 11, 1794).
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JOURDAN.

Moselle.	{	Battle gained. Capture of Arlon. Complete defeat of the enemy. Capture of 22 pieces of cannon.	}	29th Germinal, 2d year (April 18, 1794).
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CHARBONNIER.

Arden- nes.	{	Complete defeat of the enemy, after a contest of 12 hours, near Phillippeville.	}	3d Floreal, 2d year (April 22, 1794).
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PICHEGRU, Generalissimo.

DAENDELS, Commander.

North.	{	Capture of Courtray, after a general engagement of the whole line from Dunkirk to Givet.	}	7th Floreal, 2d year (April 26, 1794).
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SOUHAM.

North.	{	Victory at Mount Cassel over 20,000 Austrians. Capture of 32 cannons and two pair of colours. 4000 of the enemy killed.	}	10th Floreal, 2d year (April 29, 1794).
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MASSENA, MACQUART, Commanders.

Italy.	{	Victory over the Piedmontese. Capture of Saorgio and of the enemy's artillery.	}	10th Floreal, 2d year (April 29, 1794).
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DUGOMMIER.

Eastern Pyrenees.	{	Battle with the Spaniards at Alberes gained. Capture of the famous redoubt of Montesquieu and of 200 pieces of cannon. 2000 prisoners.	}	11th and 12th Floreal, 2d year (April 30, May 1, 1794).
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DUMAS,

NAMES
of the
ARMIES.

NAMES OF THE GENERALS.

DATES
of the
BATTLES.

DUMAS, BAGDELONNE, Commanders.

Alps.	{	The redoubts of Rivets, of Ramasse, and other posts on Mount Cenis taken by storm. Capture of the Piedmontese artillery.	}	The night between the 25th and 26th Floreal, 2d year (14th and 15th of May, 1794).
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DUGOMMIER.

Eastern Pyrenees.	{	Capture of Collioure. The French general wounded in the action.	}	27th Floreal, 2d year (May 16, 1794).
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DUFOUR, Commander of the Battalion of Var.

Arden- nes.	{	Glorious resistance of 1600 French, who opposed the march of 14,000 Austrians towards Curfoz. Remarkable instance of courage in 160 young men of the first requisition, who kept at bay the whole right wing of Beaulieu's army before Bouillon.	}	29th Floreal, 2d year (May 18, 1794).
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MICHAUD.

Rhine.	{	Battle of Chiffertadt, gained by 15,000 republicans against 40,000 Austrians. One Austrian general killed.	}	4th Prairial, 2d year (May 23, 1794).
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DUGOMMIER.

Eastern Pyrenees.	{	The enemy evacuate Forts St. Elme, and Port Vendre. Collioure retaken. 7000 Spaniards surrender.	}	7th Prairial, 2d year (May 26, 1794).
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MOREAU.

North.	{	Capture of Ypres 12 days after the trenches were opened. The garrison, consisting of 6000 men, taken prisoners. 100 cannons and 29 standards taken.	}	29th Prairial, 2d year (June 17, 1794).
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JOURDAN.

NAMES
of the
ARMIES.

NAMES OF THE GENERALS.

DATES
of the
BATTLES.

JOURDAN.

North, Arden- nes, Mo- selle.	{ Victory of Fleurus, after a con- test of 18 hours between 70,000 republicans and 100,000 of the combined armies. 10,000 of the enemy killed.	} 8th Messidor, 2d year (June 26, 1794).
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JOURDAN.

Sambre and Meuse.	{ Defeat of 30,000 of the enemy at Waterloo, by the vanguard of the French army, consisting of 14,000 men.	} 10th Messidor, 2d year (June 28, 1794).
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MICHAUD.

Rhine.	{ Battle gained. The posts of Freisbach, of Freimersheim, and of the hills of Platzberg and Saukopf carried. 2400 of the enemy killed. Capture of 15 pieces of cannon.	} 26th Messidor, 2d year (July 14, 1794).
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KLEBER, Commander.

Sambre and Meuse.	{ The post of la Montagne de Fer, near Louvain, carried by storm. That town taken.	} 27th Messidor, 2d year (July 15, 1794).
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SCHERER, Commander.

Ditto.	{ Surrender of Landreci by the enemy, after six days siege.	} 29th Messidor, 2d year (July 17, 1794).
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FREGEVILLE, Commander.

Western Pyrenees.	{ Capture of Fontarabia, and of 200 pieces of artillery.	} 4th Thermidor, 2d year (July 22, 1794).
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DESTAING, SAURAT, MICAS, Commanders.

Eastern Pyrenees.	{ Defeat of 15,000 Spaniards by 4000 republicans at Rocazeins.	} Thermidor, 2d year (in July 1794).
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MOREAU.

[illegible]

MOREAU.

[illegible]

DUGOMMIER.

Eastern Pyrenees. { Recapture of Bellegarde and of 70 cannons. } 1st Sans-cullotide, 2d year (Sept. 17, 1794).

JOURDAN, Commander in Chief.

SCHERER and KLEBER, Generals.

Sambre and Meuse. { Victory gained over the whole line of the army from Maseyk to Sprimont. The enemy raise the camp of La Chartreuse. Capture of Laufeld, of 34 cannons and five standards. }

CHAMPIONNET, LEGRAND, Commanders.

Sambre and Meuse. { The Heights of Clermont taken by storm after seven successive attacks. }

FOUR DAN.

Sambre and Meuse. { Battle of Aldenhoven. Complete defeat of the combined armies. 5000 of the enemy killed and wounded. } 11th Vendémiaire, 3d year (Oct. 2, 1794).

MARBOT, Commander.

Western Pyrenees. { Victory gained near Oñes, after } 4th and 5th
a contest of two days. Complete } Frimaire, 3d
defeat of the Spaniards. } year (Nov. 24
and 25, 1794).

PERIGNON.

NAMES
of the
ARMIES.

NAMES OF THE GENERALS.

DATES
of the
BATTLES.

PERIGNON.

Eastern Pyrenees.	{	Capture of the Fortrefs of Figueres, and of 171 pieces of artillery. The garrison, confifting of 9600 men, taken prisoners.	}	7th Frimaire, 3d year (Nov. 27, 1794).
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PICHEGRU.

North.	{	Capture of Utrecht, of Amerfort, and of the lines of Greb. 80 pieces of cannon taken. Passage of the Leck.	}	29th Nivose, 3d year (Jan. 17, 1795).
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PICHEGRU.

North.	{	Capture of Rose, after 27 days siege. Invasion of the United Provinces.	}	15th Pluviose, 3d year (Feb. 3, 1795).
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FREGEVILLE, LABORDE.

Western Pyrenees.	{	Capture of the important post of Ernani, St. Sebastian, and of 208 pieces of artillery.	}	16th Pluviose, 3d year (Feb. 4, 1795).
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BUONAPARTE.

Italy.	{	Four successive victories, over the Austrian and Sardinian armies combined, at Montenote, at Dego, at Millefimo, and near Mondovi. Provera, commander in chief of the united armies, taken prisoner; 21 standards, four of which belonged to the King of Sardinia's bodyguards, sent to the executive directory. In this campaign 1600 republicans fought for several hours against 16,000 Austrians.	}	In Germinal and Floreal, 4th year (during March, April, and May, 1796).
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BUONA-

NAMES
of the
ARMIES:

NAMES OF THE GENERALS.

DATES
of the
BATTLES.

BUONAPARTE.

Italy.

Three Austrian battalions, consisting of 4000 men and four pieces of cannon, in order of battle, lay down their arms and are taken prisoners. The next day Wurmser's army, composed of 25,000 men, completely defeated. Capture of 15 pieces of cannon and three standards. This victory, gained at Castiglione, was the more brilliant, because the enemy, believing our army to be surrounded, had summoned the French to surrender. Buonaparte, who had but 1200 men with him, astonished the enemy's messenger, by informing him that it was the Austrian army that was hemmed in by the passes of Brescia and Trento, and by giving him but eight minutes to surrender.

17th Thermidor, 4th year
(Aug. 3, 1796).

JOURDAN, KLEBER, AND MOREAU.

Sambre
and
Meuse,
Rhine
and
Moselle.

Successive victories.

4th and 5th
years (1795 and
1796).

General Sketch of our Successes from the Battle of Gemappe to the 26th Fructidor (September 11) of the 4th year, 1796.

We have gained 45 victories, 14 of them in set battles.

The political revolutions and storms present to our view a picture still more diversified, more interesting and instructive, than the military transactions. Before we notice our troubles in the interior of France, we shall take a survey of those in our colonies.

We have seen in the former part of this history that a terrible contest had arisen between the colonists and the people of colour. The inhabitants of the colonies, accustomed to a barbarous traffic, the disgrace of human nature, looked on a negro as part of their live stock. Hence an open war commenced between the negroes and the colonists. It derived its origin from the fault of the colonists, who, like our nobles in France, were impolitic enough to refuse granting at first to the people of colour the right of citizenship, and other reasonable demands; from the still greater fault of being the first to have recourse to violence; from the decrees passed by the constituent assembly, and the acts of some of the commissioners of the national assemblies of France, who wished, after the example of the constituent assembly, to favour too much the colonists, and gave them hopes, which the revolutionary torrent might have enabled them to have foreseen could not be of long duration; from the acts of other commissioners, who

who not only improperly encouraged the negroes, but even excited them to revolt, and to commit the last excesses; and, finally, from the versatility of principle displayed by the national assemblies. The misfortunes of the colonies were augmented by the corrupting gold of the English and Spaniards. These two powers, and their agents in France, made strong efforts, which were but too successful, to disturb the colonies, whether for the purpose of destroying our commerce, or to gain possession of our colonies, by forcing the inhabitants to throw themselves into their arms. In France, some persons seconded the views of England, because they were in her pay; others assisted them, without being aware of it, from motives of philanthropy badly understood, and from principles extravagant, or at least unseasonable and inopportune.

The decree of the 15th of May was the first advantage gained by the men of colour. The white colonists were so impolitic as not to receive them favourably. The colony of St. Domingo had not suffered much at this period; but the popular assemblies raised up a number of formidable enemies, by refusing to receive the petition of the people of colour. The assembly of St. Mark was dissolved, but not before it had done considerable mischief.

It gave birth to numerous factions among the citizens; and, at the same time, excited discontent among the men of colour. At the dissolution of that assembly, the colony had a little time to breathe. But when the agents of that assembly arrived in France, they continued to interfere too much in the affairs of the island; they forced the governor to escape from Port-au-Prince to the Cape, where he was under the necessity of delivering himself up to another faction. Unfortunately, also, there were in the colonies, as in France, vicious men, who were overwhelmed with debts; obscure and ambitious persons, who were desirous of anarchy. The enemies of the whites, and of the people of colour, saw with pleasure these seeds of disorder; they contrived to take advantage of them, so as to excite the first insurrection, at the head of which was Ogé the mulatto. This commotion was soon quelled; and this instrument of the fury of the agitators, who was termed, in several public papers, the *hero*, the *martyr* of liberty, titles which he merited, if he were deceived, was their dupe and their victim. He died on the scaffold. This disgrace, this momentary failure of the party, served only to irritate them. It was at this period that the decree of the 15th of May, of which we have spoken, arrived. It might have pacified every disturbance, had it
been

been received with candour and sincerity by either party. But the passions never suffer the voice of wisdom and moderation to be heard. The men of colour, excited by the pretended philanthropical party, stirred up the negroes to revolt; that is to say, to fire, murder, and rapine. It must, however, be confessed, that the whites, on the intelligence of the decree of May the 15th, displayed the most imprudent arrogance, the most insulting brutality. Thence arose the annihilation of the party of the North. The aristocrats, the royalists, and those who were in the pay of England, foreboded a counter-revolution in the destruction of St. Domingo, and of the French commerce. The pretenders to philanthropy were, perhaps, sincerely desirous of the general good and the general liberty, and the men of colour aspired to the condition of French citizens. They were all right; but the excitors of tumult employed the most horrible means of anarchy and bloodshed, from which the English alone could reap any advantage. The government itself contributed to these means of destruction. It was reserved for the commissioners Polverel and Santhonax, for their hearts of iron, to effect, in the course of a year, the entire ruin of one of the finest countries in the universe. These men, skilful in atrocity, contrived to de-

stroy every thing, by flattering men's self-love. They succeeded even in setting the negroes against the mulattoes and free blacks. They would, if they had been able, have sacrificed the whole of the free men, under the pretence of their being hostile to general liberty.

The national convention decreed the abolition of slavery in all the French colonies. Philanthropy, without doubt, was the sentiment which guided the majority of the assembly*, deceived and influenced by heated imaginations, and by English agents; but it is certain that the constituent and the succeeding assemblies should have postponed this subject till the revolution had been entirely terminated in France, and consolidated by a good government. Carra and Brissot, entirely devoted to the house of Hanover, perverted the declaration of the rights of man, and the principles consecrated in the works of Condorcet, and other writers better skilled in philosophy than politics, to mischievous purposes. Men of the purest and most hu-

* Voltaire, who reasoned justly when passion did not interfere, has observed with propriety, that no large assembly ever desired evil for its own sake. Such assemblies are led and seduced into error by the chiefs, who have a decisive pre-eminence.

mane intentions suffered themselves to be easily led astray by the picture of the oppressed and degraded state of the negroes in the Antilles. We place Condorcet and Gregoire in the number of these virtuous men*. Philosophy and humanity alone made them support the cause of the negroes; but the period was not yet arrived when those principles might safely be acted upon. The interest of the negroes themselves required that they should be conducted to freedom, at the proper season, by degrees, and with much precaution. Our commerce, the rivalry of England, demanded still more circumspection on this subject. Was it not lamentable to hear a Danton, at the sitting of 16th *Pluviose*, 2d year (February 3, 1794), exclaim, immediately after the convention had decreed the enfranchisement of the negroes, "To-day, England receives a mortal blow; England's commerce is annihi-

* It is in the times of revolution and faction, that calumny, and the rage of contending parties, seek most to misrepresent facts, and spread false reports of men. Has it not been published, that Gregoire and Condorcet were devoted to Orleans? It is true that the author of this calumny attributes, in his pretended history of the revolution, the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September to Mirabeau, who died a year preceding that event. It would have been much to be desired that all our constitutional bishops had been Gregoires, and all our revolutionists Condorcets. Where did this writer (Fautin Desfodart) discover the proofs of his assertions?

"lated?" Alas! it was directly the contrary. This decree, and the mission of Polverel and Santhonax * to the colonies, did more for the English than would have been in the power of their whole fleet. The well-disposed in the convention were the dupes of the British minister. Pitt could not prevail on the English to pardon him for plunging into the war, but by augmenting their trade, and ruining our commercial resources. The genius of Pitt is only calculated to disorganize, to divide, and corrupt. He lavished English gold in raising a rebellion in *La Vendée*, and in the purchase of Toulon; he lavished the national wealth for the purpose of ruining our colonies, that they might fall an easier prey. From the first day of the revolution, guineas were the current coin in Paris. Pitt, being interrogated as to the manner in which he had employed 40 millions †, of which he could not give a proper account, promised to satisfy the house at a distant period. This was the system of his father, Lord Chatham, who said, that he kept in his portfolio the rate of the consciences of the English parliament. I

* Santhonax was just then appointed commissioner of the executive power. We shall soon see the benefits derived from this circumstance.

† A little more than a million and a half of our money.

can trace the criminal connection which subsisted between the ancient committee of public safety, or rather of public ruin, and the English government, in Fox's speech, and Pitt's answer to that orator, on the 10th of February. "How long," said Fox, "will the minister feed us with hopes? He promised us the sovereignty of the colonies, and yet we have lost Guadeloupe!" "I shall not reply," said the minister, "to the honourable gentleman: the proper time is not yet arrived. But when I shall be enabled to give the detail of these events, I flatter myself I shall obtain the approbation of the house."

To excite the negroes to insurrection was, in fact, to lay the foundation of the ruin of our colonies; and to deprive us of a commerce of 400 millions* annual revenue, at a moment, too, when we were not able to send any troops to their assistance. France requires a great naval force. We must look to commerce for the foundation of this force. Merchant-vessels are the nurseries for able seamen, and commerce is supported by colonies.

* Near seventeen millions sterling.

After

After the errors of Brissot on the subject of the colonies, a more fatal period succeeded, in which Robespierre wished to found his domination on the misery and ignorance of the people, and, consequently, the ruin of the colonies. To *Vandalize* France, to destroy the genius of manufactures at Lyons, by accusing that town of royalism *, to dissipate the national riches, to annihilate the means of exchange, to ruin all the great land-holders; such was the system of this man, who was born for destruction. We have discovered since the death of Robespierre, that he had secured some property in England. He agreed with the English minister in the design of ruining our colonies. The corrupting gold thus lavished by England, so completely, in general, directed the operations of France with regard to her colonies, that, in order to render the republic for ever odious to them, all the colonists who arrived in France were stopped, searched, and stripped of all their papers which could supply any information of the situation of the colonies. Fifteen hundred of them, who had been sent away from the Windward Islands

* Lyons was filled with patriots and good citizens. If royalism afterwards gained ground, it is to be attributed to the decemviral tyranny, which created a number of royalists.

by the English, for having refused to take the oath to the king of England, which was exacted of them at the time of the conquest in his name, were robbed, plundered, and imprisoned on board the ships which brought them over.

It may, perhaps, be said, that the colonies were already lost to France, when the convention voted for the enfranchisement of the negroes; but the truth is, that, at this time, our colonies were not lost. The islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe were just retaken by the colonists, who were attached to the mother-country. It is even probable, that the project of the decree of enfranchisement was only presented to the national assembly, because the colonists had driven out the English, against whom, from the beginning of 1793, they had frequently applied for succour and protection. This is not at all astonishing. Brissot was the agent of the English faction; he was at first desirous of introducing the House of Hanover in the room of that of Bourbon. His views, perhaps, in that instance, were pure: it was necessary to expel the reigning dynasty, who never would have supported the revolution with sincerity. It is also probable, that he desired the enfranchisement from motives of pure but unenlightened philanthropy.

thropy. We wish even to believe that he died a sincere republican, as he then saw a prospect of the republic being firmly established.

At the period in which Robespierre had obtained a despotic domination, the French party in St. Domingo had just repulsed the English. The districts of *Jeremy* and of the *Mole* had alone received them, when Santhonax and Polverel, by proclaiming the enfranchisement of the blacks, left them only those means of escaping the total devastation of their country*. If we reflect with attention on the different circumstances which led to the various catastrophes of the colonies, we shall discover that England directed all of them, even those which appeared the most hostile to her interests. Martinique was always considered as the bulwark of the Antilles; and Guadaloupe, as it appears, should always have remained under its protection. If the committees of the government of France had acted with good faith, they would have sent an army of freebooters to Guadaloupe, who

* There were unhappy colonists, who, like some inhabitants of France, emigrated solely to escape assassination and butchery. The government and the law excused them, and re-admitted them into the country, on proof of their motives.

might

might have secured her by inclining her to the side of Martinique. These are demonstrable truths. The entry of the national commissioner Hugues was evidently concerted between the two governments of France and England. The Windward Islands made a vigorous resistance; 1500 of the inhabitants were, as we have said, sent away and imprisoned at Brest by Prieur de la Marne, because they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England. It was the wish of England that all the land-holders should fall under the axe of the *guillotine*, carried over in the same frigate on board of which was the national commissioner for the civil department. It was reserved to the decemvirate, and the *Mountain* which stood on the bones of a million of carcases, to send delegates and proconsuls, who, like the hangman, never appeared but with the *guillotine*. Hangmen have at least the excuse of the necessity of their employ.

So many lying reports have appeared on the subject of the colonies; the public opinion has been worked upon with so much address, that the affairs of the colonies appear an inextricable problem. By what magic was Pitt enabled on the 3d of February to announce to the English

lish parliament the decree which Duffai was to propose on the next day in the national convention for the enfranchisement of the negroes? England adopted at the same period a similar plan in North America, by alarming the proprietors of slaves in the United States through the medium of the Congress itself. They wished to force those States to separate from the Northern, or at least to compel the slave-masters to emigrate with their slaves into those colonies they expected to wrest from France. They perhaps even wished to place one of the sons of the House of Hanover at the head of the United States; it is certain that the last treaty concluded at London with the plenipotentiary of the American government contains the seeds of great events. The dispositions of that treaty are such, that the period of the expiration of Washington's presidency is that in which the cessation of immigration will happen, and the question will be examined, whether the flag of a country at peace neutralizes an enemy's merchandize, and whether the King of England shall give up the forts on the northern frontier? Washington, who at this time keeps within bounds the English faction, is in his second presidency. The two parties which now divide the people and the government are composed of the adherents

herents of Clinton the Hanoverian, and Jefferson the patriot.

Was it not Pitt that made the war with England a national war, by procuring that barbarous decree, into the passing of which the convention were surpris'd, of putting to death all the English prisoners?

We have had a destructive government, instead of one wisely and truly revolutionary; it is time that the colonists as well as ourselves should have a paternal and protecting government. If the scale should incline to either side, it should be to that of the colonies. Let us not encourage *demagogy* in the colonies, at the very moment we have found it necessary to restrain it in France. Let us never forget that Pitt's vast plan, his secret intention now well known, was to annihilate by disorganization the commerce and marine of France, totally to destroy our colonies, to disorganize North America, to detach the Spanish possessions from the mother-country, to seize their commerce, as well as that of Holland, and to drive the French out of Asia. The maxim of Louis XI. was *divida et impera*; Pitt's is to throw every thing into confusion among his neighbours, and to reap the fruit

fruit of their disorders. I have said nothing of our Asiatic possessions. Every thing depends in those countries upon our having wisdom enough to preserve the Isles of France and of *La Reunion*, where we may fasten the electric chain, which sooner or later will shake the English dominion in Bengal to the centre.

If we return to America, we shall find Cayenne and Guiana in a complete state of disorganization. Let us again recur to the colony of St. Domingo. It is necessary for France that she should be certain of attaching the inhabitants to her by the ties of opinion and affection; she must repair all the evils which the colonists have suffered. The system of disorganization and death still weighs down the colonies. There is no doubt that liberty burns in the heart of a black as well as of a white; but the blacks, as all uncivilized people, should be led on to liberty by degrees and with the wisest precautions. That which is of most importance to us is that the numerous ties of affection and relations of interest, which subsisted between us and our colonies, should be restored.

In the colonies, as in France, there has been such a mixture, such a variety of plots, of
action

action and re-action, such a conflict of the most irritable passions, that it is almost impossible to reduce to order this chaos. It is a lamentable truth, that in the times of discord and anarchy, a suspicion of evil and immorality leads into fewer errors than an expectation of candour and fidelity. It appears that if Polverel and Santhonax were the barbarous agents of Robespierre, Page and Brulley were no less ferocious; they might both have given lessons in cruelty to Collot d'Herbois, or even to Carrier.

Before we return to the political events in the interior of France, and to the consequences of the 31st of May, it is proper to give an account of the decree* by which the convention ordered that Rousseau's ashes should be transported to the Pantheon. The assembly, which had at length expelled from this temple the ferocious, Marat, and the immoral Mirabeau, was desirous, no doubt, of repairing the fault committed by our national assemblies in the deification of such men, by placing the ashes of Rousseau in this monument of glory and renown. At present the French Pantheon eclipses that of ancient

* This decree was passed the 26th Germinal (April 15) 1794. We have inserted it here that we may no longer be under the necessity of breaking the thread of events.

Rome. What was that temple? It was a monument to superstition erected by despotism. There false deities received an usurped homage. It was not Cato that built that edifice; it was not the Roman people who laid its foundations; it was the son-in-law of a tyrant. What a difference between this monument and that which a grateful people has consecrated to her illustrious men! There, every thing breathed the air of despotism; here, every thing proclaims freedom. There, all was fanaticism; here, all is reason. There, every thing was falsehood; here, all is philosophy and truth. The ceremony of the translation of the august ashes of the author of *Emile* and the *Social Contract*, which has been so much perverted, was performed with the greatest pomp. When shall we see the Pantheon occupied by a Montesquieu, whose writings disclose so many new and pregnant notions; by a Fenelon, and other great men worthy of standing by the side of Descartes, Voltaire, and Rousseau? But of what importance are these vain honours to men of such immortal genius? The true pantheon of great men is the suffrage of ages; it is in their writings. There they have erected for themselves an everlasting monument.

BOOK XXVI.

Interesting Proofs and Details respecting the Orleanist Faction, and the Causes which produced the Transactions of the 31st of May.—Summary of the succeeding Events.—Marat assassinated by La Cordai.—Courage of that Heroine.—Her Character.—Condemnation of the proscribed Deputies.—Circumstances of their Imprisonment, and the heroic Manner in which they suffered Death.—Punishment and magnanimous Firmness of Madame Rolland, of Dupré, fellow-labourer with Brissot, and several other Victims.—Sublime Conduct of Lozerolles the Father, and other Prisoners.—New Details on Robespierre.

WE should sink under the weight of the horrors which we have to relate in the history of the new revolution which the 31st of May effected, if we were not supported by the hope of being useful to posterity. At the aspect of the decemvirate, whose power began on the 31st of May, the historian recoils with dismay, and his pencil drops from his hand, as if he suddenly found himself in the presence of a hideous and ferocious monster. In order to

sustain his fortitude in the midst of the horrible picture of death, and reflections of despair, which the events of this sanguinary epoch present, he stands in need of the perpetual recollection, that the principal authors of our evils, and of so many factions, have destroyed each other, in proportion as they wished to exalt themselves; and that the convention, assuming, at length, a shape and gesture worthy of the French nation, has given us a constitution capable of quieting all parties, and has substituted in the room of the elements which crime and intrigue had combined, elements of a purer nature. Our disasters were as easy to be foreseen, as they were difficult to be prevented; a government, enervated by long corruption, and by an Asiatic luxury; a court, whose haughtiness pressed on the nobility of the provinces; parliaments, alternately oppressed and oppressing, whose insolence, odious to the military nobility, wearied the people; a clergy, whose immorality and pompous splendour insulted the religion they pretended to profess, and the misery of the people; a commonalty, enlightened and exposed to daily humiliations by *aristo-despotic* institutions; such was the aspect of France, when the revolutionary movement, on a sudden, gave the upper hand to those who were called the Tiers-etat,
over.

over all those who had before disdained and oppressed them. The first two years, therefore, of the revolution present to us the spectacle of a people justly exasperated, striving to avenge all the crimes, abuses, and serious attacks on their happiness, which had proceeded, for so many ages, from power, pride, wealth, and the most profound contempt of human nature. Fortune, while thus elevating the people to the top of her wheel, of necessity, also, raised a great number of *new* men, in the most extensive sense of that expression. Thus it is that a storm, by agitating the vast bosom of the sea, elevates to the surface the mud and filth which a calm leaves in a state of corruption at the bottom of the abyss. These new men wished, for the purpose of raising themselves above their level, to reduce men to an equality of fortune; and to effect this, conceived the horrible design of cutting off heads. There also necessarily appeared among them some men of distinguished talents, who, dazzled by their sudden elevation, soon became intoxicated with their success. The national assembly, filled with men of great talents, and still greater presumptions, contained in their bosom the most discordant elements; as many rivals as there were men of any pretensions, as there were men thirsting after power and wealth.

These assemblies brought together the most enlightened, but, at the same time, the vainest, the most envious, the most immoral of the human race. In the first assembly, composed of the three orders, every one contended for those of his own rank ; but, in the succeeding assemblies, this food for their vanity being removed, these turbulent spirits, these zealous innovators, turned their attacks on each other ; they mutually sought to eclipse, to rival each other in power, to become leaders in the convention, and at the Jacobin club. An assembly of men moderately enlightened, and less intoxicated with ambition, would perhaps have been better. So many blazing comets could only, by their encounter and concussion, light up a vast flame, and set the atmosphere on fire. It will not be forgotten, that Greece would never have submitted to the Macedonian yoke, had she not been betrayed and misled by her orators.

Before we trace the consequences of the events of the famous 31st of May, we ought to bring forward every thing which may throw light on that calamitous period, the source of our disasters, and on the innocence of the greater part of the proscribed deputies. It will be, at the same time, a display of the dark plots of our tyrants.

tyrants. To give an extract of the proofs collected by the deputy Bergoing will suffice; these proofs will bear the marks of truth in the eyes of all those who have considered with attention this series of crimes and intrigues. A powerful faction, says Bergoing, dominated in the legislative assembly, and that faction was the Orleanists; but the representatives perceived that it would only be the change of one tyranny for another, and they proclaimed the republic. From that moment, the ambitious sought to share the chief authority; they leagued together, and prevailed so far as to force the legislative assembly to declare, that it could not save the country. Another constitution was also required; a constitution founded on a democratic basis; and its commission, its powers, did not permit it to form one. It was necessary, therefore, to convoke the primary assemblies. The ambitious views of the municipality of Paris had already fixed the attention of the national assembly. At this period, Danton was the minister of justice; this place had been conferred on him by the Jacobins. The primary assemblies were convoked during these days of mourning; but the nomination had been previously made. It was well known that, on a certain day, they would name a certain deputy; and

that d'Orléans, d'Orléans so infamous, so corrupt, and so corrupting, so vile, that he had not even the courage or the genius of crime, would be the twenty-fourth. The heroes of the 2d and 3d of September had not forgotten each other; they were the first who were named*. The deputies of the other departments arrived at Paris; they were acquainted only with the *printed virtues* of the profligates who had usurped the chief power; but they knew them better when they saw them. The latter attempted to attract to their party all those whose virtues and talents they dreaded. They detached from their party agents to insinuate to the deputies of *La Gironde*, that a chief was necessary to save France, which might be either a tribune, a dictator, or a triumvirate. One deputy even proposed the nomination of Robespierre. When some indignation was manifested at the proposal, he replied, *It would be only for a short time*. The resistance of Rébecqui, Guadet, Barbaroux, and others of *La Gironde*, was the cause of their being denounced by Marat in his journal, intitled *Ami du Peuple* (the Friend of the People).

* The authors of the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September were also the authors of another massacre, which took place a few days after at Versailles, of the prisoners who had been transferred from the prisons at Orleans.

Marat never ceased saying, and even writing, that a tribune or dictator was necessary, and pointed out Danton, the better to keep out of sight Robespierre, who was already surnamed the *Incorruptible*, at the Jacobin club.

While Marat, in his paper, was preaching up the dictatorship, the faction announced it in the convention. The reader may convince himself, by perusing the proceedings of the convention, at the sitting of September 24, 1792. Marat, in the interim, fought, by his writings, to deprive the convention of the confidence of the people, and to excite an open insurrection against it. The walls of Paris were, for several days, covered with *placards* against the convention. It was to remedy the abuses proceeding from these provocations, that the assembly decreed, on September 24, that means should be laid before them for raising a public force in the departments, to be at the disposal of the convention, and that the plan of a law against the inciters of murder and assassination should be concerted. It may be easily conceived, that these regulations were not much to the taste of the Jacobins. Those, therefore, who had made these wise propositions, were the next day treated as disguised royalists, or agents of Prussia and
of

of Pitt. Rébecqui in indignation accused Robespierre of aiming at the dictatorship. Robespierre defied any deputy to substantiate the charge. Upon this defiance, Barbaroux darted to the tribune, and said, *I will support the charge, and will bring forward proofs.* He then said, that, having been invited to Robespierre's house, an attempt was made to convince him of the necessity of rallying round a citizen who had acquired great popularity; and that citizen Panis had by name pointed out Robespierre as the virtuous man, who was alone worthy of being the dictator of France. Offelin said, *Robespierre, you are accused; answer with frankness. Have you aimed at the dictatorship, yes or no? I summon you to answer.* Robespierre made a digression, and never forgave Offelin, whom he afterwards sacrificed, for this apostrophe. These are the men, whom the iniquity of the conspirators conducted to the scaffold, under an accusation of federalism. To such a degree had they succeeded in corrupting the morals of the people, that any thing might have been said to them, with impunity. The emissaries sent by the Jacobins into the departments, recommended an agrarian law; this was one of the great causes of the war of *La Vendée*. To relate all the horrors of the conspiracy would be disgusting. We must,

must, however, point out the source; it is to be found in the Jacobin society; it is in journals similar to Marat's, in those filthy productions that the most immoral men have been panegyrised, the most virtuous calumniated. The month of March disclosed events which were precursors of those of May 31. They were prepared in the Jacobin society at the sitting of the eighth. Desfieux proposed the extermination of all the Brissotines, Rollandists, and Girondists, whose death alone, they said, would save the country. He demanded the formation of a revolutionary tribunal. Hebert demanded the head of all the generals, and of all the members of the executive council. A deputation from the 48 sections, with Pache the mayor at their head, marched into the convention *, and asked them if they were able to save the country. *Speak, says the orator, for the people know how to save themselves.* A member of the deputation, named Crénier, had the criminal insolence to say, that he invited the convention to send half their members to the frontiers. From the beginning of April, a club of insurrection, under the name of committee of

* Pache dared to say, that if he had suffered them to do what they wished, all the convention would have been massacred. This was imposture. If the whole convention was not slaughtered, the reason was, that they only wished to kill the 32.

public safety, was instituted at the archbishop's palace, and of which the commissioners of all the sections were members. From these *Conciliabules* proceeded all the calumnies against the virtuous deputies. It was thus that the sections were disposed to demand the heads of the deputies whom they wished to proscribe. The 20th of May announced yet greater events. Hebert had already denounced a feast of St. Bartholomew's, of which, according to custom, he accused the Girondists of being the authors. The commission of 12 received advice of assemblies at Charenton, in which Robespierre and Danton played the principal parts. The committee of public safety had received the same intelligence. The moment fatal to liberty, at length, arrived; groups of persons assembled in the avenues of the national convention; the members could not pass without being insulted and menaced by a crowd of malcontents, who breathed nothing but slaughter. The convention summoned the mayor; Pache returned for answer, there existed no plot; that there was no necessity for the tocsin, and that all was quiet; that the convention might rely on his zeal. In the meantime the *Conciliabules* were held in his house. The procurator syndic of the department denied also the existence of a plot, and made the same assurances

assurances as Pache; yet, at that very moment, the cries of fury were heard in the avenues of the convention, and the impious were loud for the destruction of the national representation. The minister of the interior likewise said, that there was no appearance of the public tranquillity being disturbed. All the constituted authorities were thus, it is seen, implicated in the plot; and, in fact, from the night of the 30th to the 31st of May, the tocsin was heard, and it proceeded from the city. The convention saw itself surrounded by a crowd of misled citizens. The infamous Henriot, that wretch who had been placed at the head of the armed force, that assassin of the 2d and 3d of September, led on his Septemberising accomplices. The watch-word was *insurrection and vigour*. When he saw the whole convention come out bare-headed, with the exception of the president, as a signal of the country's danger, he had the insolence to draw his sabre, and to exclaim, *You have no orders to give here; return to your posts, and give up the deputies demanded by the people*. The deputies advanced. Henriot drew back, and cried out, *To arms; cannoneers, to your posts*. Twenty-nine deputies, in short, were proscribed, containing in their number all those who had combated the factious, the denominators, and the anarchists, in the tribune and

in their writings. This was the day which opened the road to Robespierre's tyranny; who, increasing in audacity, soon abandoned the Orleanist party, in order to elevate himself. This Orleanist faction, composed of every possible species of corruption, of those men, who, on the 2d of September, butchered 10,000 victims, was the faction which organised the 31st of May, that long series of misfortunes and calamities, of which fictitious reports were circulated in the departments; where good men were the more easily deceived, as they could not imagine that there existed men of such an abandoned nature; that there existed a commune of Paris conspiring against the nation, and a convention the slave of faction*. It has been seen in our recital of the transactions of the 31st of May, that Rabaut de Saint Etienne in vain remained in the tribune, with the report of the committee of 12 in his hands, which would have opened the eyes of all to the conspiracy of the commune; his voice was drowned by the howling of the hired tribunes and by the vociferations of the faction dispersed through the hall. It should be recollected

* It is a problem difficult of resolution, to discover whether our dictators, our proconsuls, our tyrants, were more ferocious or insane. Did they not see that they must fall victims in their turn? They were a sort of savage madmen.

that

that the sound of the tocsin recommenced on the 2d of June, and then it was that an armed force demanded the arrest of 22 deputies, whose number was afterwards augmented. The steps also which the convention took of presenting themselves to this body of men for the purpose of leaving the hall is remembered. The reader has not forgotten that the deputies spread themselves over the garden of the Thuilleries. Lanjuinais alone exclaimed, that he would die at his post. His intrepidity excited alarm among the conspirators: "Citizens," said he to them, "in
" barbarous countries human victims are led to
" the altar by the people, after they have been
" crowned with flowers; but we have not heard
" that the priests of the sacrifice ever insulted
" those they were going to immolate. I repeat
" to you that I have no right to renounce a cha-
" racter with which it has pleased the people to
" honour me. Expect not then from me either
" a resignation or a voluntary suspension, even of
" the shortest duration." At this courageous address, the tyrants turned pale; and if Vergniaud, Rabaut, Brissot, and the others whose names were inscribed on the homicidal list, had seconded their colleague with their eloquence, the conspirators would probably have missed their aim, and the proscribed deputies would have
saved

saved the republic. Whilst these monsters perfected their odious undertaking, those whom I have just named were deliberating at Guadet's house. Deceived by the false report of an ill-informed friend, who assured them that they were butchering their colleagues, and persuaded that resistance was useless, they did not undertake any opposition to the decree of arrest. If the convention had condemned Henriot to death when he sent his orders to them, that sentence might, without contradiction, have been executed, if it could have been promulgated without the walls of the assembly; but the conspirators had intercepted all communication, and the people were ignorant of what was passing in the interior. Since that day the nation was not legally represented, until the return of the proscribed, that is, of those who escaped the sword of the executioner. From the *notices* of Louvet, it appears, that another plot was in readiness for the 14th of May against the true republicans in the convention; for both parties assumed that character. Letters of a correspondence between them and Cobourg were forged; twenty of them were to be arrested at the moment of their return to their homes; each victim was to be waited for by his *Septembriser*; they were to be buried in a ditch dug for the purpose; and on the next day it was to be declared

declared that they had emigrated. This plan was concerted in the house of Pache the mayor of Paris. The committee of twenty-one discovered the proofs of this horrid plot; more than 30 letters, written and dated at ———, attest the fact. A part of these pieces of evidence came into the hands of Bergoing, one of the members of that committee, who transmitted them to the administrators of Calvados; and these last gave them up to the *Holy Mountain*, in order to make their peace. A still greater number were in the hands of Rabaut de Saint Etienne. "I am ignorant," says Louvet, "whether they have been preserved." These *notices* are very interesting, both in point of matter and style. Immediately after the insurrection of the 31st of May, of the 1st and 2d of June, several deputies assembled, and each signed a protest; there were 73 signatures. This protest did not soon make its appearance; it did not come to light till it was found among Duperet's papers, and this discovery led to the imprisonment of those who had signed it. That event caused a considerable fermentation in the departments; it was not the same at Paris; and the tyrants remained in tranquillity. The departments were deceived, and their sentiments misled, by lying addresses and perfidious journals. The counterpart of the scene acted at Paris be-

tween the conspirators and the convention, was soon to take place at Lyons; the enterprise was entrusted to a man of the name of Chalier, a Piedmontese by birth, and a fraudulent bankrupt in fortune. The commune of Paris hastened his departure for Lyons, after the massacres of the 3d of September. He began the exercise of his mission by the execution of five persons, who had been imprisoned for very trivial offences by order of the municipality. His plan of *purification* was to place a guillotine, the next day, on one of the bridges, and to behead all the rich merchants. The good citizens concerted measures to prevent this bloody execution. Chalier had been just appointed procurator of the commune, and being well informed of the progress of the conspiracy in the capital, he declared, on the 27th of May, in the midst of the popular society at Lyons, that all the rich *egotists* of the town should be executed the next day. The two parties, the cut-throats and the citizens, took up arms. They fought, and the citizens gained a bloody and long-disputed victory: Chalier was condemned to death. If oppression had met with the same resistance in the other communes, the tyrants of France would not have reigned so long, and Lyons would not have been bombarded.

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The first head of accusation against the deputies who were imprisoned on the 2d of June, was founded on their pretended opposition to the republican government. Facts completely disproved this calumny, since, after several months labour, these very deputies had presented a plan of a constitution to the convention, who decreed the publication of it; but the conspirators were interested in putting a stop to the discussion. As it was generally believed that a constitution could heal the wounds of the state, one was promised by the tyrants in a fortnight, and was found in a shorter time; but they themselves soon set it aside, and after having covered the chart of the rights of man with a thick veil, proclaimed with insolence, under the denomination of a *revolutionary government*, a new species of tyranny. This word has since served for the purpose of legalizing the violation of every principle, murder, theft, and plunder, massacre and devastation. Petion, Buzot, Rabaut de Saint Etienne, Isnard, Lanjuinais, Barbaroux, Louvet, and some others of the proscribed deputies, made their escape. The conspirators accused them of having fled, in order to light up the flames of a civil war. The assassination of Marat at this period gave weight to all the calumnies which the tyrants were pleased to invent. Marat was assassinated in his

bath by a young woman, who came from Caen to Paris for the express purpose of depriving him of life. Charlotte Anne Marie Cordai was born at St. Saturnin, in the department de l'Orme; there it appears she led a retired life with her father. She employed herself chiefly in reading the history of ancient and modern times, and had derived from that study an ardent love of liberty. She had formed a habit of assimilating certain epochs of ancient history to the events passing before her eyes, and was probably excited by the famous examples of antiquity, to the assassination which she perpetrated, as indispensably necessary for the salvation of her country. She came to Paris, was admitted to the sight of Marat on the third day after her arrival at the capital, and plunged a knife, which she bought for the purpose of this attempt, in his heart. She was immediately apprehended and delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. Louvet, in his *Notices*, speaks thus of this extraordinary woman. "A young person
" came one day to ask for Barbaroux at the di-
" rectory where we lodged at Caen; she was tall
" and well made, her manners were elegant, and
" her behaviour was modest; her countenance
" united to beauty a charm which seduces at
" first sight; in every motion a mixture of gen-
" tleness and dignity proclaimed a celestial soul;
" she

“ she always came in the company of a domestic, and waited for Barbaroux in a place we often frequented. It appeared that she wished to be acquainted with the founders of the republic, for which she shortly proposed to devote herself, and to gain instruction from them. I declare and solemnly protest,” adds Louvet, “ that she never communicated the least hint of her design; and if such an action could have been advised, can any one believe that, if she had consulted us, Marat was the person against whom we should have directed her hand? Did we not know that he was attacked by an incurable disorder, which left him but few days to live?”

Delivered up to the tribunal, Charlotte Cordai spoke only of the action as a duty which she had performed to her country and the human race. *I had, said she, a right to kill Marat.* She undoubtedly thought justly, unless it be necessary to efface the maxim engraved on the heart of every free-man, that it is lawful to destroy the tyrant of his country. After her condemnation, which she listened to with the utmost serenity, she drew out three letters from her bosom, which she requested the judge to send to the places of their address. Two were for Barbaroux; in
x 3 them

them she gave an account of her action and of her trial; the other was for her father. She finished her farewell with this verse of Corneille,

“ *Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud.* ”

It is with difficulty one can conceive an idea of the heroism which she displayed in the long way she had to pass to the place of execution. The heads of the faction called Marat a martyr, or rather a divinity; he was honoured with the *apotheosis*, and the conspirators cited his death as a proof of the federalism of the departments. They consecrated the busts of Marat and of Chalier. The conspirators and their agents called all those, whose ruin they desired, or who did not favour their principles, suspected persons, or *Modérés*. The revolutionary tribunal was accused of *Moderatism*; and the members of it were re-appointed. About this time the royalists of *La Vendée*, marching towards Paris, had advanced to Tours. Lyons presented the aspect of a formidable resistance; the Marseillois were in possession of Avignon; Mentz was surrendered to the Prussians; the Austrians were making incursions into Alsace; they had taken Valenciennes, and summoned Condé to surrender; the Piedmontese had entered the department of *Mont Blanc*, the *ci-devant* Savoy; it was necessary to find more efficacious means than those which had been

been hitherto employed. All the young men from the age of 18 to 25 were put in requisition; and as the Lacedemonians marched to the songs of Tyrtæus, these youth flew to battle with an heroic courage animated by patriotic hymns, and among others the Marseillois hymn. The conspirators perceived that these young warriors, who had obeyed with ardour the summons of the convention, and the call of honour, would not be disposed to become the instruments of their atrocious projects. They established *revolutionary committees* and *revolutionary armies*, composed of those whom they termed *true sans-culottes*; men, in fact, capable of all sorts of crimes and excesses. Their commission was to elevate the people to the greatest revolutionary height, and to imprison and execute all those whom they thought it would be advantageous to apprehend and *guillotine*.

In the mean time they pressed for the trial of the *ci-devant* queen, who was detested by the whole nation, except the royalists, and she was condemned to death. She listened to the sentence without any apparent emotion, but her firmness forsook her on her return from the tribunal to prison; she burst into tears, and did not

display that fortitude which was to be expected from a daughter of the Cæsars, and from the great character she had hitherto supported. After the execution of Marie Antoinette, the revolutionary tribunal began the trial of the accused deputies. They were long undecided on the choice of articles of accusation, and of their victims. The charges were founded on a sort of romance, or party pamphlet, composed by Camille Desmoulins against Brissot and the Brissotines: the author, who only proposed to laugh at their expence, was far from imagining the fatal consequences which ensued. Camille complained in bitter terms of this infamous abuse of a piece of pleasantry; he declared that all the charges contained in his work were mere extravagancies; they took good care however not to attend to his remonstrances. This romance, filled with evidently contradictory reproaches, of federalism and royalism, served as a pretext for the *act* of accusation. The witnesses brought forward against the deputies were almost all chiefs of the conspiring municipality, which was also their accuser: but the defence of the accused completely overthrew the charges, although the judge and jury had previously made the horrible engagement to condemn them. The eloquence
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of the accused softened their hearts, and drew iron tears* down all their cheeks. The president of the tribunal, observing some sentiments of compassion arising, wrote to the convention, that if the trial were much longer protracted, the formalities of the law would throw great embarrassments in their way: he added that in a revolutionary process, a great number of witnesses, and a long defence, were perfectly useless. This epistle, full, as is seen, of *humanity and justice*, was escorted by a deputation of the Jacobins. The decree which authorized the jury to stop the procedure of the trial, when they had sufficient information, was in fact a sentence of death. The jurors hastened to declare they were sufficiently informed; they coolly voted for the death of deputies the most distinguished for their talents, and their attachment to that republic of which they had laid the foundation. The accused in vain remarked, that so far from facts having been yet proved against some of them, their names had scarcely been mentioned before the tribunal. A military guard was ordered to keep them back from the audience. Valasé, in a transport of indignation, stabbed himself in the court; Vergniaud, Genzoné, Lasource, Fon-

* Milton, *Penferoso*.

fréde, Silleri, Ducos, Carra, Duperey, Gardien, Duprat, Fauchet, Beauvais, Duchatel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Lehardi, Boileau, Antiboul, and Vigée, were the next day led to the scaffold. Vergniaud had provided himself with poison; but when he saw that his young friends, Fonfréde and Ducos, for whom he entertained great hopes, shared his misfortune, he gave his vial to the officer of the guard, and resolved to perish with them. They submitted to their fate with the calmness of innocence; their last vows were offered up for the safety and liberty of the republic. One of the companions of their captivity*, and, at the same time, their friend, affirms that they were, while in prison, calm without ostentation; that their minds were strung to such a pitch, that it was impossible to accost them with the common-place of ordinary consolation. Brissot grave and reflecting, Gensonné retiring into himself, seemed to fear to pollute their mouths with the names of their assassins. Vergniaud quoted to us, says he, a great number of ludicrous verses, and sometimes addressed us with strains of that sublime eloquence, which was soon to be lost to the universe. They were condemned to death on the night of the 30th of

* *Memoires d'un Détenu.*

October 1793, about eleven o'clock. The whole of that dreadful night resounded with their songs, and their fallies of mirth. It is the first time in the annals of history, that so many extraordinary men were slaughtered in a mass. Youth, beauty, genius, talents, every thing the most interesting, disappeared for ever. If cannibals had representatives, they would not be guilty of such enormities. Many of their illustrious and unfortunate colleagues had taken flight; some of them afterwards fell under the daggers of their assassins; but others were fortunate enough to escape. Lanjuinais, Isnard, and Louvet, reappeared among us, after having encountered a thousand dangers, after being concealed among rocks and dark caverns, and having seen a thousand times the sword of Damocles suspended by a thread over their heads. Condorcet died by poison, which he administered to himself. Rabaut and Guadet perished on the scaffold.

We are arrived at a period, when the signs of patriotism were made to consist of dirty linen, tattered and soiled pantaloons, cropped and ill-combed hair, and a cap of red wool; these were exactly the *round-heads*, and, if we except their courage, the *red brothers* of Cromwell. The new Cromwellists, *i. e.* the Jacobins, and the members

members of the revolutionary committees, modestly denominated each other, *Brutus*, *Scevola*, *Cato*, and *Aristides*; thus Cromwell's impious agents took the names of *Kill-sin*, *Moses*, and *Abrabam*. Every man and woman who dressed with any degree of neatness, were called *Muscadins*. At this epoch, one of the most extraordinary women that France has produced, lost her life on the scaffold: it was Madame Rolland, wife of the minister; she was possessed of a great character, and endowed with superior talents in more respects than one. When several individuals went together to the *guillotine*, as it was impossible to execute them any other way than separately; he whose turn came last, suffered a punishment equal to that of death itself, every time he saw the axe fall, and the blood flow on the scaffold. To die first was a favour; it was granted to Madame Rolland, in consideration of her sex; but when she perceived the despair of her companion in misfortune, she intreated the executioner to give him the first turn. Upon his refusal, she said to him, with a smile on her countenance, *Can you refuse a woman her last request?* At length, he complied with her desire. As soon as Rolland, who had till then eluded all search, learned the death of his wife, life appeared to him no longer worth enduring;

enduring; and he stabbed himself to the heart. His body was found on the high-road between Paris and Rouen.

If France, under the implacable tyranny of Robespierre, was stained with crimes beyond example, she also afforded specimens of the most extraordinary virtue, proofs of greatness of soul, superior to every sacrifice; such was the conduct of a young man confined in the same prison with his brother; he was accidentally present when they called over the victims who, on the next day, were to appear before the sanguinary tribunal. This young man heard mentioned in the homicidal list the name of his brother, who, at that moment, was not in a capacity to hear his doom; he answered the summons in his place, surrendered himself to the officer, and was executed in his room. Lozerolle, the father, saved his son by the same means, and thus twice gave him life.

Nothing so much alarmed, so much enraged the tyrants, as the serenity with which their victims encountered death. The annals of history offer to the admiration of posterity the ancient philosophers, who met death without their courage being shaken; but if they had been led
to

to punishment with Robespierre's victims, they would, in this respect, have been confounded with the crowd; they would have seen with astonishment persons of both sexes, of all ages and ranks, demonstrating the greatest contempt of death. The women were particularly distinguished by their astonishing firmness; the cause is perhaps to be sought in the extreme sensibility of the sex, which renders them more prone to excess in good as in evil, and which makes them think death preferable to disgrace, if they are enthusiastically fond of honour, or to the privation of the objects of their affection, if they are torn from their arms. When the general who commanded at Longwi was condemned to death, after the Prussians had taken possession of the place, his young wife, twenty-four years of age, and a great beauty, exclaimed, *Vive le Roi*, the moment she heard the fatal sentence pronounced. The barbarous tribunal, instead of imputing her fault to despair, and a momentary derangement of mind, condemned her also to the guillotine. The people, indignant at such ferocity, followed her to the scaffold, exclaiming, *She does not deserve death*. "My friends," said she, "it is my own fault; I wished to die with my husband."

Dupré,

Dupré, fellow-labourer with Brissot in the journal intitled *Le Patriote François*, showed still more energy and contempt of death. This young man, who, at the age of twenty-four, had acquired a great literary reputation, employed his talents for the honourable support of his mother; when, on his appearance before the tribunal, he was interrogated as to his connection with Brissot, he replied, "I knew Brissot. I bear witness that he lived like Aristides, and died like Sidney, the martyr of liberty." In the fatal cart, he sung, in tones of triumph, a patriotic song of his own composition, the chorus of which was, *Plutôt la mort que l'esclavage* *! Clavière, minister at the same time with Rolland, having received in prison the act of his accusation, and finding in the list of witnesses one of his most implacable enemies, said, "I will deprive them of the pleasure of sacrificing their victim." He repeated these two verses of Voltaire, *Les criminels tremblans sont trainés au supplice; les mortels généreux disposent de leur sort* †; and plunged a dagger into his heart. As soon as Madame Clavière was informed of this event, she swallowed poison, after

* Death rather than slavery!

† The trembling criminal is dragg'd to torture;
The noble soul is master of its lot.

having

having embraced her children, and regulated her affairs. The rapacity of the tyrants led them to confiscate Clavière's fortune, as if he had been condemned by due form of law. The guillotine was termed the *Minister of Finance*. To guillotine, according to Barrère, was, *to coin money on the square of the revolution*. The men of literature were the class more especially persecuted by our tyrant, against whom his heart, animated by an atrocious implacability, united the jealousy of rivalry with the fury of tyranny. So Nero was the rival of Lucan, whose superiority in the art of poetry he never forgave. The decemvirs also knew that the ignorance of the multitude is the secret foundation of the power of agitators as well as of despots. This is the reason why they incessantly accused the pretended aristocracy of talents. But for the revolution of the 9th Thermidor (July 27), of which we shall soon have occasion to speak, Bitaubé, author of a much-esteemed translation of Homer, would have lost his head on the scaffold. What talents have perished under the axe of the dictators! What regret is experienced by men of enlightened minds, and of feeling hearts, at the deplorable end of Condorcet, author of an essay on the progress of the perfectibility of the human mind, one of the best works which

has appeared during the revolution; of Roucher, author of a poem, intitled *Les Mois**, strikingly beautiful and sublime, but of which the latter part is not equal to the former; of Lavoisier, the celebrated chymist; of Bailly, famous for his astronomical researches; of Linguet, and many others. Robespierre persecuted also, with the most virulent rage, general Miranda, who was born in Peru, and was well known in Europe for the courageous spirit of philosophy, which induced him to employ a great part of his life in travelling over the four quarters of the globe. After the defeat of the Prussians, and the entry of the republicans into the Netherlands, Miranda, by his services, added to the great reputation which he had already acquired in Europe. Dumouriez, knowing his superiority, was jealous of him, and his hatred increased, when Miranda refused to join in the treason which Dumouriez was meditating. It has since been asserted, with reason, that Miranda was as intriguing as Dumouriez. It appeared that he was concerned in the plot of the 13th Vendemiaire (October 4).

In proportion as we advance in this melancholy history, the scene begins to blacken, the

* The Months.

picture is more deeply stained with blood, and the horrors are accumulated. The tyrant, emboldened by success, intoxicated by his omnipotence, concluded by setting all forms at defiance; he decimated, from time to time, the convention and the nation, until, at length, the moment drew near, when humanity, delivered from his reign of blood, began to breathe again. In the short interval which elapsed between the triumph and fall of Robespierre, an interval, however, rendered long by his atrocities, this despot, it will be seen, was not content with sacrificing his victims in detail; he slaughtered them in a mass. May the picture we are about to draw, of so many crimes, and of so much audacity, instruct the rising generation! But, alas! history, which Bolingbroke calls a course of philosophy, is seldom known to the multitude; and it is from ignorance that the misfortunes of the universe proceed.

(October 4.)

BOOK XXVII.

*Sequel of the Crimes of the Decemvirs.—De-
 crees of Accusation against Camille Desmoulins,
 and Hérault-Secbelle, Danton, Philippeaux, La-
 necroix, Deldunay, Julien de Toulouse, Chabot,
 and Bazère.—Their Punishment.—D'Orléans,
 and Gobel, cindéyants Bishop of Paris, have
 the same Fate.—Imprisonment of seventy-three
 Deputies.—Feast to the Supreme Being.—Details
 on Robespierre, Barrère, and his other Acqui-
 sitioners.—Manner of judging in the Revolutionary
 Tribunal.—Numerous Murders committed by
 the Agents of the Decemvirs, and the Commis-
 sioners of the Convention.—Reply to the Ca-
 lumniators of Philosophy.*

What a career of blood are we obliged to
 pass over! What, afflicting ideas must we recall,
 in the narration of the crimes that we are under
 the necessity of transmitting to posterity, for the
 purpose of devoting their authors to just exe-
 cration, and for the instruction of future gene-
 rations! It is necessary that the reader should
 get the better of the disgust which these hor-
 rors inspire, if he wishes to know the utmost
 extent of human wickedness.

Robespierre had at length abandoned the part of d'Orleans, who had caused so many evils, for the purpose of advancing himself rapidly to the dictatorship. Robespierre delivered d'Orleans over to the revolutionary tribunal of Paris. We have already related the manner in which this prince, who seemed to perish only to leave another still more ferocious conspirator in his place, finished his career. Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and Barrère, had made themselves permanent members of the committee of public safety; Billaud-Varennes, a man still more sanguinary, Amar, and other wretches of this stamp, presided at the committee of general safety. We should still, perhaps, have groaned under their yoke of iron, had not divisions arisen among them, either from the jealousy of power, or because they were not agreed upon the means of oppression and the choice of victims. Unfortunately these divisions, which have saved the republic, did not break out before the 9th Thermidor of the 3d year (July 27, 1794). We have about eighteen months of crimes to retrace, taking date from the 2d of September 1792, which was the commencement of the assassinations committed by Robespierre. After the 31st of May the tyranny knew no bounds. It was decreed at the Jacobin club to make terror the order of the day; this

was

was decreeing, in other words, a renewal of the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla. Already, under the pretext of imaginary plots, which had been so often employed, had the decemvirs wrested from the convention a decree of accusation against Camille Desmoulins, Herault, Danton, Phillippeaux, and Lacroix. Camille Desmoulins, an author at once profound and ingenious, who had imbibed the spirit of Tacitus and Suetonius, writing with a striking originality, and wielding with dexterity the sharp weapons of ridicule, had contributed considerably to the revolution by his journal, intitled *Revolutions de France & du Brabant*. Desmoulins was a fanatic demagogue; he had taken the title of *Procurator general of the lamp-post*, which would have been more properly applied to Marat or Hebert; for though Desmoulins was furious when his pen was in his hand, and exaggerated every thing, as was probably necessary, at the commencement of the revolution, yet his violence expired when he laid down his pen. He has been called the *La Fontaine of the revolution*, on account of the benevolence and simplicity of his character. He, like most of the other journalists of that period, was in the pay of d'Orleans; but it was necessary, at that time, to have some one capable of opposing the royal influence

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and omnipotence*. Desmoulins was shocked at the blood which was spilled by the decemvirs in such torrents, or rather he was made the tool of Danton, who rivalled Robespierre, and already began to tremble for his life. Desmoulins, in order to unmask the decemviral tyranny, composed a journal, intitled, *Le vieux Cordelier*. He proposed in this paper to establish a *committee of indulgence*; he might have said of *justice*; for there is no indulgence in stopping the effusion of innocent blood. The decemvirs immediately denounced, in the convention, a new and extensive faction of *Indulgents*. This word of itself overturned every idea of a faction. Great God! what a time! when a convention did not rise unanimously to crush, with the weight of its indignation, those who dared to propose such an accusation. Robespierre could not forgive the talents of Desmoulins and Herault-Sechelle; nor could he pardon Phillippeaux for having dared to lift a corner of the veil which covered the treachery of the committee of public safety, and the secret of the prolongation of the war of *La Vendée*; nor Danton for his superiority in the tribune.

* We ought not to blame men for having thought it necessary to change the dynasty: the only crimes were, the supporting the party by every species of enormity, and the selecting such a man as d'Orleans.

He beheld in the last a rival ambitious, yet careless and indolent; contradictory qualities are thus often united in the same person. Danton appeared desirous of repairing the wrongs he had done, and of atoning for the massacres of the 2d of September; the innocent blood which he then shed, fell at length upon him; he suffered on the scaffold the just punishment of his crimes. Hérault had been the agent of Robespierre; he, as well as Phillipeaux and Desmoulins, was involved in the proscription.

Some time after, by a new creation of crimes and conspiracies, the dictators brought to the scaffold Julien de Toulouse, Chabot, and Bazère; they had previously sacrificed by the sword of the law Ronfin, commander of the revolutionary army, Hebert, and many others of their agents. There was the consolation, at least, of observing so many miscreants mutually, and in turn, destroying and butchering each other. The anarchist Hebert, author of the obscene and sanguinary journal, intitled *Le Pere Duchêne*, fell a victim to his Machiavelism. The same fate was reserved for Gobet, bishop of Paris, and some others, who first set the dangerous example of depriving the people of all religious notions, by abjuring their priesthood.

It would, undoubtedly, be much to be wished, that there were only ministers of morality, as in China, and that the name of priest should be abolished, (for names deceive the people,) and that no religious dogma should be preached; but could the French nation, so generally infected with immorality, be thought ripe for this innovation, without being prepared for it by previous instruction, and by the principles of education which had been acquired by the present generation? Was it not furnishing fresh arms, and new pretexts to the malcontents, who failed not to lay hold on this opportunity to spread a report, undoubtedly with reason, that there was a design of destroying all religion? Is it right to preach to the people destructive doctrines, and at the same time to take away a necessary check, nay the only one, on the commission of secret crimes? The authors of this new scandal, of this new *manœuvre*, had a twofold end in view; the first was to excite religious discord, and to increase the anarchy; the second to dilapidate the immense riches of the church*. The first of these pro-

* When our ancestors endowed the churches with so much piety and magnificence, they could not have a suspicion that their gifts would fall a prey to a band of robbers; thus it was that the ancient Roman warriors did not imagine that they were triumphing over the universe, to enrich with its spoils their cowardly descendants.

jects failed; the profound terror which enslaved the minds of all was such, that the people, with the completest indifference, saw the objects of their worship and veneration trampled under foot; nay, even joy was manifested on the occasion. The contests between the non-juring priests, and those who had taken the oath, and the pretended philosophical discourses made in the clubs or popular societies of the departments, tended much to vilify the national worship. Both in the capital and the departments, the labourers were seen carrying crowds of gold and silver statues, and the pretended holy vessels, to be converted into money. The sittings of the national convention were consumed in receiving the sections of Paris; whole communes, peasants, women, and children, who advanced into the midst of the assembly, clothed, in derision, in the sacerdotal habits, which they afterwards trampled under foot. Thus the dictators succeeded in their second project, of gaining possession of the wealth of the churches.

It has been imagined that Robespierre began thus to degrade and destroy the national worship, in order to substitute another, which it might have pleased him to establish. His genius was not profound enough to enable him to conceive beforehand

forehand such a plan; if, however, he had not the talent requisite to create events, it must be allowed he had sufficient to enable him to lay hold on those which occurred. It is certain, that when he perceived the facility with which the people were led to abjure, in some degree, their divinities, he conceived the project of playing a part similar to that of Mahomet. He sought support, on that occasion, in the credulity of the people, and endeavoured to gain even the priests over to his side; he proposed to the national convention in a long discourse, by far the best of his writings, to decree that the assembly acknowledged one supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; and to begin by uniting the office of sovereign pontiff to that of dictator, he caused himself to be elected president of the national convention, to preside at the feast of the supreme Being. This man, of moderate talents and great vanity, thought himself a second Mahomet, because in the eighteenth century he had announced, as a new discovery, the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul. It is impossible to ascertain which is matter of greater astonishment, his insanity and audacious impudence, or the servility, the apathy, the stupidity of the convention. Is it not an additional proof of the truth which we have already advanced, and which cannot be

too often repeated, that nothing resembles a mob more than a large assembly, however enlightened, from the very circumstance of its being numerous? This cannibal, who, with hands stained with the blood of his fellow citizens, offered up to God an incense, which he rather addressed to himself, procured another decree, that probity and virtue were the order of the day. Again one knows not how to conceive so much influence on one side, and so much weakness on the other. Was it not an insult on the assembly, and an insinuation that he thought they had not made virtue the order of the day? What unusual and barbarous language, *to make virtue the order of the day*, at a time too when he was daily butchering his fellow citizens! It was adding blasphemy and irony to ferocity and cannibalism.

This character of irony and insult to their victims, was that of all the monsters which the effervescence of the revolution had elevated to the surface; and it is the highest degree of cruelty. When one of the proconsuls, whom the tyrants sent into the departments, to quicken the motions of the guillotine, had done a good day's work, that is to say in their language, had levelled many heads, he wrote: "We have put
" this country in train; we have ascended to the
" height

"height of revolution; we have made the rich
"dance a fine *carmagnole*; the *holy guillotine*
"goes on well." We seem to hear Cartouche
say, *my holy sword; my holy dagger*. Were they
desirous of sacrificing any one, he was accused
of being a federalist, without even taking the
trouble of fixing the sense of this word; or a
vague charge of being an agent of Pitt and
Cobourg was brought against him. When an
unhappy man, at the revolutionary tribunal,
wished to speak in his justification, the president
stopped him by saying: *You have not the word*;
an expression used by the president of the con-
vention, which the pride of the judges, and their
desire to imitate or perhaps to degrade the con-
vention, had caused them ridiculously to adopt
in these assassinations, under the pretence of jus-
tice, which Barrère called *bitter forms*. This
same Barrère, in the same scoffing manner, which
was as silly as it was atrocious, had the impu-
dence, one day, to say in the convention, that it
was necessary to *guillotine* a great many, to em-
ploy many of these *bitter forms*, because, he
added, the dead never return. Read the Roman
history in the times of Catiline, Nero, and
Tiberius, and you will not be able to find a
time when appearances were so disregarded.
Was it possible, we cannot help asking, that an
enlightened

enlightened and powerful assembly, that the whole of France did not open their eyes to these torrents of innocent blood shed by a tyranny the most execrable, the most inconceivable and monstrous, and all in the name of liberty, which was thus rendered odious, and assassinated, instead of being supported? How did France endure those barbarous arrests, those multiplied proscriptions, those taxes and arbitrary requisitions, that rapine, those thousands of scaffolds and victims, those violations of all rights and all principles, those denunciations of persons pretendedly suspected, by others still more suspicious; that crowd of sufferers of every age, of every rank, and of every sex, heaped up together in dungeons, mutilated, tortured, condemned, without any pretext, without even being heard? How could she support this crowd of ignorant pretenders, equally knavish and ferocious, this host of chief executioners and their deputies, these revolutionary committees, these revolutionary armies, more than 20,000 citizens shot with small arms and from the mouth of the cannon, drowned and assassinated in a hundred different manners; in short, the image of death on every countenance, and on all the walls? All these devouring vultures of the human race covered France with a river of blood,

blood, and changed it into one vast tomb; these political quacks gave us up to opprobrium and disgrace, since we had the weakness to endure them. Was it to nourish these *vampires** that France devoured and destroyed herself for so long a period? Is it always the lot of the people to be muzzled, deceived, wrung, tortured in every possible mode, and bandied from faction to faction? It appeared, as if hell had let loose all her furies against France.

What calamitous times! a horde of cannibals, of depopulators, of bloodsuckers, had spread themselves from one end of France to the other. These men were seconded by others, who may be called the dregs of the nation, the scum of cities, the offscouring of the country; they proclaimed the agrarian law, the abolition of debts, and the proscription of the rich. These disorganizers had at their head men not totally devoid of talents; jugglers who fascinated the eyes of the people; accusations were their ordinary arms. A father dared not put confidence in his son, a son dared not undertake the defence of

* A name given in certain works of fiction to some chimerical beings, who are supposed to live on the blood of mankind.

his blood

his father. Virtue was proclaimed, but a cloud of poignards fell on innocence; they called themselves republicans, but never had a conception of the duties that word embraces, of the virtues which it supposes: the true republican would hasten to expose himself to the axe of the executioner for the preservation of innocence. Can one discover by these marks those men who published their republicanism on the house tops?

When a country becomes a prey to a band of tyrants and assassins, possessed of nothing, knowing nothing, and springing from nothing, yet grasping every thing; the moral sentiments of a nation are enfeebled; then the people, in proportion as they tremble for their safety, for their property, fall into a profound stupor; are first timid, then dissembling, and then torpid; and if no crisis arrive to renew the national energy, the career is terminated by the most degrading slavery. These are the only causes which can be assigned for the strange phenomena, which at this period, the depravity, the torpor of the senate and nation exhibited: terror hovered over both. The magical and always potent words of liberty, public safety, and conspiracy imposed on the multitude, and supplied the tyrants with all their power.

Our

Our audacious tribunes had *revolutionized* and *sans-cullottized*, to use their Gothic expressions, that is, they had destroyed the very nature of the language and opinions of the country, and perverted the national manners. Moderation was proscribed under the denomination of *moderatism*. Men were imprisoned for being moderate, as they were also for being *ultra-revolutionary*, or violent. It was a crime not to be a Maratist; and culpable to be so. When they did not know what crime to impute to a person, whose destruction they aimed at, he was accused of being an Hebertist, a Dantonist, and of other imaginary crimes of a similar nature. The barbarous, ridiculous and contradictory inscription of *fraternity* or *death* was fixed on the gates of all the public buildings and of every private house. They were ignorant that fraternity is gentle, that it persuades and does not command. Did they believe that liberty would triumph by means of anarchy, virtue by crime, the law by assassination, or fraternity by death?

We have just spoken of the new language introduced by our Vandals; we shall insert here some reflections on that subject. A new government undoubtedly, by giving a new turn to ideas, necessarily creates a change in a language; but

but genius and taste united have alone the authority to create a new word. No other word more known should be capable of supplying its place; or at least the new word should be more sonorous or more expressive, and should give the language more ease or more harmony; this power should also be used very sparingly, lest a language consecrated by so many master-pieces of genius should be rendered obsolete and unintelligible. The language, we agree, was too timid; but it is to be learned that by an unlimited boldness, it may be corrupted and its very genius destroyed. There requires an infinity of taste and genius for the adoption and naturalization of a new word.

Let us return to the deplorable events, a picture of which we have to draw. To give at once an idea and a proof of the decrees which the Terrorists caused to be passed, with the design of giving a greater latitude to their atrocities, and of the manner in which they enjoyed liberty, we will give a literal report of a decree passed at the instance of Saint Just on the 25th Germinal (April 14) 1794. This decree, an eternal monument of disgrace and weakness, which will always bear witness against the assembly that passed it, ordained the following

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measures, which are of a nature that Carrier, if made Nero's chancellor, would have shuddered at signing: "Every citizen, according to this
 " decree, is obliged to inform the constituted
 " authorities of his district, (these pretended
 " authorities were the popular commissions established by the first articles of the same decree,) and the committee of public safety, of all the
 " *uncivic discourses* and acts of oppression of which he may have been either the witness
 " or the victim. If, adds the decree, he who shall be convicted of *complaining of the revolution*, lives an idle life, and is neither 60 years
 " old nor infirm, he shall be transported to
 " Guyana." What latitude is here given to vengeance! What a career opened to informers! The word *uncivic* being indeterminate, the result is that they might imprison men according to the sense which caprice might give to the word.

Hobbes was in the right when he said that a democracy was a real aristocracy, a true despotism of orators and declaimers. Robespierre, the one of our tyrants who possessed the most power, was far from enjoying the talents of a great orator. If he had not been a prodigy of dissimulation and ferocity, he would have lived in a low and obscure condition; he had accomplices,

but no friend; his countenance was clouded; he was perpetually rubbing the lower part of his face with his hand, apparently for the purpose of concealing the play of his features; his conversation was uninteresting, his speeches insipid, verbose, and intricate; his heart was devoid of warmth, his soul of elevation, and his mind of cultivation; he possessed but a half knowledge; and he was always of moderate abilities at school and at college.

In proportion as Robespierre strengthened himself in the dictatorial power, the blood of the citizens was shed with less precaution; he alone signed the sentences of death, and the lists of proscription. Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal of Paris; Coffinhal, vice president; Fouquier Tinville, public accuser; all these tigers in human shape sold themselves to Robespierre; they might be called his executioners, since they were less to be regarded as judges than as the ministers of his vengeance. The president of this tribunal always sent to Robespierre a list of the victims brought to trial: the tyrant marked each name with an *A* or a *C*, according as he wished them to be *acquitted* or *condemned*. It may be easily conceived that the number of the acquitted was very small.

Through an apprehension that the tribunals of the departments might be less inexorable, that they might not have arrived at that height of ferocity which was then the height of the revolution, they at last brought the proscribed persons from all parts of the republic to Paris. The tyrant there experienced a more enlarged gratification; the blood flowed copiously before his eyes. The history of this infamous tribunal, which should have been called counter-revolutionary, since nothing could load the revolution with greater execration, is in the highest degree disgraceful to human nature. Scarcely did they take time enough even to write the names and age of the accused; they acted with so much precipitation, that they often executed one of the accused for another: the unhappy man in vain exclaimed, *I am not the person*. The reply was, "what difference can it make
" whether your turn comes to-day or to-mor-
" row?" We will content ourselves, in order to pass as rapidly as possible over this inexhaustible nomenclature of crimes, with adducing one instance of these atrocious trials, taken by chance from a crowd of similar sentences.

A woman had an opportunity, in 1789, of doing a service of importance to the governor
of

of the castle of La Muette: he, from motives of gratitude, made a present to his benefactress of twenty-five pounds of wax candles; and unfortunately preserved the letter in which she thanked him for the present. When before the revolutionary tribunal, this letter was shown him, (for these judges sometimes chose to preserve the appearance of examining the matter before them,) he confessed that he made the present of which it spoke. The woman who had received it was summoned to the tribunal; she remarked that the present had been made her before the revolution began. They rejected her defence; and this tribunal, hungry after victims, declared her attainted, and convicted of receiving goods stolen in the castle of La Muette; she was condemned to death, and executed. A large volume might be collected of similar judgments, of similar assassinations.

Terror, punishment, desolation, ignorance, famine, general misery, and nakedness, such were the great means employed by the decemvirs; such were the supports of their power. Robespierre, in order to arrive by degrees at the government of one alone, persuaded the convention to substitute in the room of a constitution and a declaration of rights, in the true

spirit of anarchy, a *centralization* of powers, which was fabricated in a fortnight, and called a revolutionary government. These two terms manifestly contradicted each other; but a numerous assembly may be persuaded to any thing. Was not the first parliament of France formerly persuaded to prohibit the use of emetics and of the bark? The convention was not conscious that it was surrendering itself in chains to a master; it did not perceive the insolence and indecency there was in accepting and solemnly swearing to support a constitution, for the purpose of setting it aside at the end of a fortnight.

Under the name of a revolutionary government, all the public functions were united in the committee of public safety, where Robespierre had for a long time dominated. Then it was that this committee, become dictatorial, hurried into the departments that horde of ferocious proconsuls, whom we have seen betraying and slaughtering the people, whose servants they were, and to whom they owed their political existence; sometimes carrying with them, in their murderous circuits, the *guillotine*, at others declaring it *permanent*, which was saying, in other words, that the executioner was not to have a moment's rest. These monsters in mission, these
Colof-

Colossuses of crime, these phenomena of cruelty, hunted men as a German baron hunts wild boars. When the English subsidized the savages, and made them drunk with brandy, in order to persuade them to bring the scalps of the Americans, those savages, those Englishmen at least were not the representatives of those whom they butchered. When, some ages before, the Spaniards, in their conquest of the new world, trained mastiffs to the cannibal chase of the unfortunate and inoffensive Indians, they were animals, and not representatives of a great people, that were employed in devouring men. The despotic Turk, when he makes his equal expire under the bastinado of a Bacha or by the cord of the mutes, does not say to his victim, *Thou art free*. Every event recurs in the history of the world; Marat's companies, the revolutionary armies and committees*, the popular commissions, were, under other names, what was called, in the time of other tyrants celebrated in history, *burning-chamber, star-chamber, commission-extraordinary*; that is to say, associations of men created, by the right of the strongest, to slaughter, without any

* Instead of *revolutionary*, read *anti-revolutionary*; for *patriotism*, substitute the words *ambition* and *personal interest*; and you will have the true sense in which our tyrants used those words.

formality, the weak. We have already said, that all tyrannies resemble each other; all tyrants have, like our decemvirs, employed the arm of terror; and it is not in this point of view that the history of the epoch of our revolution is new; but what has never yet been seen, and what probably will never be seen again, is a great and enlightened people, who, during six months, were mutilated, decimated, shot, drowned, and guillotined by their representatives; it is the extreme ferocity of so many public functionaries butchering those from whom they received their commissions. Rome had a series of tyrants in succession, or at least at short intervals; but France had at one and the same instant a host of Caligulas. Tacitus himself would have broken his pencil from regret at not being able to paint all the crimes which sprung from the monstrous junction of the ferocious Robespierre with the sanguinary Couthon; of the barbarous Billaud with the gloomy Amar; of the tiger Collet with the tiger Carrier; of the cut-throat Dumas with the cut-throat Coffinhal; and a thousand subalterns submissive to their orders. Mirabeau undoubtedly foresaw a part of these horrors when he said, *Liberty slept only on mattresses of dead carcases.*

What

What a picture! the waves of the ocean swelled by the mangled bodies which were secretly committed to the bosom of the Loire; blood flowing in torrents down the streets of every town; the dungeons of a hundred thousand bastilles groaning under the weight of the victims with which they were encumbered; the crape of death worn by every family; the threshold of every door stained with gore; and, as the height of insult, the word humanity engraven on every tomb, and associated to death: such was the lamentable aspect which France presented! On every frontispiece were to be seen the contradictory words of *Liberty, Fraternity, or Death*. Alas! the last was the only one that was realized. We have said this before; but as we move always in the same round of crimes, in the same labyrinth of blood, the reader will pardon us for some repetitions, in favour of the sentiments which lie heavy on us, and which, if we may use the expression, imprint themselves on our paper; and in favour of the desire we have, in some degree, to lay our misfortunes before the eyes of posterity.

Our hand not being capable of tracing, in characters sufficiently marked and sufficiently deep,

deep, this long chain of horrors and of infamy, of folly and of calamity, we think it our duty to cite here an extract from a picture as true as it is energetic, drawn by Mallet du Pan; all of whose sophisms we are, however, far from adopting. He paints France as a prey to an infinity of popular Neros, become the horror of their first accomplices, and the executioners of those among them who were desirous of stopping short in the road of cruelty; insulting with effrontery their own laws; stopping every mouth with the chart of the rights of man; curbing the freedom of speech, of the press, and of thought; violating the peace of private houses: breaking open letters; proclaiming a Deity, but professing Atheism. This corporation (the Jacobin club) were not reasonable beings; the agents of insurrection and the incendiaries formed a real fraternity, systematically organized; they had their catechism, their colonels, their majors, their captains, their profession, their novitiate, their language, their points of correspondence, their affiliations, *costume*, and watch-words.

We have at length passed over this bloody path, this career of eighteen months, of eighteen centuries of crimes continually augmenting, until

til the moment when the divisions of the chiefs, and the energy of some representatives, who saw the sword of Damocles suspended by a thread over their heads, brought on the revolution of the 9th Thermidor (July 27). It remains, first of all, to describe in detail, and with their principal circumstances, the enormities committed by the commissioners. This will be found in the abridgment which we have given, in the following book, of a report made by Courtois, after the 9th Thermidor, in the name of the committee entrusted with the examination of the papers found on Robespierre, and his accomplices; a report which, one might imagine, sprung from the pen of Tacitus or Sallust.

We shall conclude this book with a reflection, which appears to us to be necessary. The calumniators of philosophy have dared to say, that the perusal of Rousseau of Geneva, and of some other philosophers, caused this *demagogic* insanity, and the enormities which resulted from it; but had Robespierre, Saint Just, or Collot, considered or understood these great writers, could they find in Rousseau's Reflections on the Government of Poland, the apology or model of their abominable conduct? Has Rousseau said, that, in order to attain liberty, it was necessary
to

to pile up heaps of carcases, to raise a mountain of enormities? Has he not said, on the contrary, that he would not purchase freedom at the expence of one innocent life? Had the low and ferocious scoundrels, the blood-suckers, who revolutionized morality and justice, ever read Rousseau? Could their sepulchral souls ever assimilate with the affectionate soul of Rousseau? They would have proscribed him, if he had lived in their time: as there are monsters in the forests, whom nothing can tame, so are there villains in society, whom the study of philosophy can never humanize.

BOOK XXVIII.

Details of the Conspiracy of Robespierre.—Events of the 8th and 9th Thermidor (July 26 and 27).—Excellent Motion of Tallien in the Convention.—Arrest and Punishment of the Conspirators, in whose Number were seventy-one Members of the Commune of Paris.—Extract of the Report made by Courtois, in the Name of the Committee intrusted with the Examination of the Papers found at Robespierre's House.—Particulars relative to Robespierre, Couthon,

Couthon, Carrier, Pache, and Coffinball.—Other Particulars relative to Barrère, David, and Leonard Bourdon.—Law on the personal Inviolability of the Representatives.—Extract of the Report of Saladin on this Subject.—Fresh Troubles.—Attempt to incite the Faux-bourgs of Paris to rise against the Parisian Youth.—Hymn called Le Reveil du Peuple.—Transactions of the 12th Germinal (April 1); and of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th Prairial (May 20, 21, 22, 23).—Decree against Barrère and his Accomplices.—Other Decrees against a Number of Deputies.—Punishment of Fouquier Tinville.—Death of the Son of Louis XVI.—Curious Analogy between the Events which happened at Athens, two thousand Years ago, and those of our own Times.

WE are at length arrived at a consolatory epoch, that of the fall of our tyrants. We shall now see ambitious men, rivals in crimes and in power, destroying each other, like robbers, amongst whom, though strictly united when they are engaged in their murderous expeditions, violent dissensions and mortal conflicts ensue at the division of the spoil. The convention, considered in the mass, is about to appear as great and as striking in its conduct, as it was degraded under

under oppression. We shall still, undoubtedly, have the painful task of offering to the view of our readers the enormities of our tyrants, and of their numerous and execrable agents. We feel, while writing this history, all the fatigue of such details, and all the disgust which the picture of such horrors necessarily inspires; but at least, the image of chastisement now hovers over the head of crime, and the prospect of a more prosperous futurity presents itself in the back-ground.

So many tribunes, equally abandoned and ambitious, could not remain long united. The envious and malignant character of Robespierre could not long endure his equals. His accomplices wished to share the dictatorship; but were not willing to submit to his power. Could there be any solid connection between men who knew each other too well to trust one another?

The first mean of distinction should have been, on the plan of the tyrants, an equality in ferocity; but there is no equality in human nature, not even an equality in cruelty. The members of the two committees of government were more or less tigers, more or less cannibals. Rivalship and envy manifested themselves among these monsters; one was desirous of more assassinations,

sinations, another of less slaughter; one had more boldness, another more timidity. A schism soon broke out between the leaders of the committee of public safety, on the subject of some victims proposed for sacrifice; this schism transformed the decemvirate into two parties of triumvirs, who, during several days, struggled to supplant each other; on one side were Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint Just; on the other, Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes. Barrère, fearful of the event, did not cease flattering Robespierre; thus this Proteus, this politicalameleon, boasted of having passed through all the factions; he has been seen (his opinions varying with his dress) alternately *Feuillant*, *Jacobin*, *aristocrat*, *royalist*, *modéré*, *exalté*. Robespierre began to perceive that he excited Barrère's jealousy, and awakened the suspicions of his accomplices; he began to apprehend that they would make common cause against him. He attempted to try their strength; he declaimed vaguely, and turned loose the Jacobins against them; by these means, he published the divisions which had arisen in the decemvirate*; this was a discovery of their

* The term decemvirate has been used as a generic term. Our tyrants were never exactly of the number of ten; they sometimes consisted of three, sometimes of six, and often of more,

weakness;

weakness ; he plotted the destruction of his accomplices, and fell a sacrifice himself. He had triumphed over Danton, because that man, indolent and vain, imagined himself a giant, who might look down in contempt on a pygmy. It is certain that Danton would have triumphed over Robespierre, if, foreseeing the decree of his arrest, he had unmasked the tyrant in the tribune. Danton perished because he deserted himself, and because his natural indolence had kept him away from the committees of government : he, however, struck a fatal blow at the colossal power of the decemvirs ; he dared to complain to the convention of the despotism of the committees. “ It is time,” said he, “ that
“ the convention should re-assume the high
“ office which it has received from the people,
“ and which it ought not to have given up
“ to any of its members. This is only the
“ preface to my political opinions ; I shall say
“ more another time.” This was a great oversight ; when a man is daring, he should not be daring by halves. If, at this moment, he had attacked the tyrants to their face, he would certainly have ruined them. It was then that Camille Desmoulins published his journal called *Le vieux Cordelier*. He described, in the severest terms, the crimes of the dominators, and their system

system of terror; this was another blow against the tyranny. If the revolution has devoured in their turns all the different oppressors who have appeared on this moving theatre, she has also, like the Saturn of fabulous story, devoured her children and her supporters. The scaffold was, as we have seen, the recompence of Camille Desmoulins. Thus perished the generous writer, who, on the 14th of July 1789, mounted on a table in the Palais Royal, with two pistols in his hand, gave to the people the signal of liberty, by hoisting the national cockade, and decided the capture of the Bastille. His name, notwithstanding some political errors, which he has well repaired by unmasking our tyrants in his last work, will live in the Pantheon of history.

In the meantime Robespierre saw the storm ready to burst on his head; the Plain in the convention began to rouse itself to energy, and the Mountain was not entirely his; a part of it regretted Danton. Robespierre became more gloomy and more suspicious; he thirsted for more blood; he *already looked pale from the approach of death*, according to the strong expression of Courtois; he spoke of nothing but assassinations, arrests, and punishments; this is the lot of all tyrants; he whom all the world fears, soon

learns to fear all the world. He again attempted to cut off part of the convention, and to make another 31st of May; it was the renewed project of attempting the integrality of the national representation which divided the decemvirs, and accelerated the destruction of a horde of barbarians, the possibility of whose existence posterity will never conceive. Since the atheistical festival to the Supreme Being, when Robespierre, who wished to unite the patriarchate and the dictatorship, by declaring himself the head of a sect, was intoxicated with the incense which he pretended to offer to God, he had ordered the public accuser, Fouquier Tinville, to select a smaller number of victims from among the priests. Upon the point of putting in execution his plan of domination, he thought it necessary to begin by conciliating a body of men always powerful with the people, and always disposed to support despotism, in hopes of a reciprocal support. Nevertheless, in order to satisfy the cannibal voracity of his colleagues, and the ardent thirst of blood which consumed their vitals, he took care to provide a copious supply of conspirators, such as never were known before, old and infirm men, women, and children. So much *humanity* and *compassion* did not satisfy Vadier, a member of the committee of general safety, one of the
two

two committees of government. "Since it is
"necessary," said Vadier, "to depopulate
"France, to destroy the human race, why spare
"the priests, the fanatics, and their preachers?"
Vadier soon obtained a decree, which sent, by
means of an absurd conspiracy, two of the illu-
minated, an old and foolish woman named Ca-
therine Theos, and an enthusiast called Dom
Gerle, to the revolutionary tribunal, that is to
say, to death. This boldness of Vadier astonished
the modern pontiff Robespierre. He com-
manded Fouquier not to guillotine the two en-
thusiasts. Vadier, who knew that the threats of
a tyrant are like the lightning which precedes the
thunder, immediately turned against Robespierre.
The choice of other victims completed the divi-
sions among the decemvirs. The 8th Ther-
midor (July 26th) arrived. The assassins, di-
vided against each other, could not be long toge-
ther without declaring themselves. The plot,
which was concerted for the proscription of a cer-
tain number of deputies, could be delayed no
longer. Robespierre was in the tribune holding
one of these murderous reports which prepared
an attack on the national representation. The
assembly preserved the silence of terror, and the
contest between the oppressors themselves was
about to commence. We shall develop the
minute circumstances of the famous sittings of
the

the 8th and 9th Thermidor, (July 26 and 27,) which have saved, but were intended to destroy, the republic; but we ought to observe, before we enter into the details of this great event, that Tallien was not the only one who had formed the design of stabbing the dictator in full senate. Many other deputies had conceived this generous project; but such was the astonishing popularity and reputation for patriotism which Robespierre had acquired, that he would have been placed in the Pantheon by the people, and his assassins would have experienced the same fate with the murderers of Cæsar. Robespierre had less talents and fewer personal resources than Rienzi, he was of as moderate abilities as Mazaniello; like them he had the people on his side, and if he was deserted by them on the last plot, it was because he had neglected the proper measure for preparing their minds for it; particularly he had not distributed money enough.

It is impossible, however, to think without shuddering on the danger to which the public welfare was exposed by Robespierre. The municipality of Paris, the head of the armed force, the tribunals, the public opinion itself, were all influenced by a single man, who held in his hand the lives and fortunes of the citizens. Lists of
proscrip-

proscription were issued every morning from the cabinet of this tyrant, who preferred the cold atrocity of Sylla, to the furious excesses of Catiline. The danger of the convention was such, on the night between the 9th and 10th Thermidor, (July 27 and 28,) that if Robespierre and the insurgent *commune* had at first marched against them, they would have massacred the whole assembly. The convention was guarded only by about 400 men, dispersed in the different avenues of the hall; the sections had not yet had sufficient time to rally round them; they might also have been slaughtered by the armed troop which Henriot collected, as we shall see in the subsequent narration, from the committee of general safety. Robespierre and Henriot possessed neither the genius nor the courage requisite for a great plot; they wanted these two qualifications, the last which fortune could offer them. The conspirators had, from the period of 13th and 14th Vendemiaire, (October 4 and 5,) neither chiefs sufficiently enlightened, nor well concerted plans. If the conspirators appeared so little capable of action, it was not so with the convention: they shewed themselves equally intrepid, vigilant, and enlightened. The poniard which Tallien displayed, in readiness to strike Robespierre, electrified the whole assembly. Hatred,

suspicion; and vengeance were accumulated in every heart; their sentiments were the more lively from having been suppressed and concentrated; the conspirators should have been on their guard against him. Robespierre had not capacity enough to perceive, that liberty observes, with the vigilance of suspicion, those who wish to elevate themselves above her. He had not appeared in the convention for a long period; on the 8th Thermidor (July 26th) he ascended, as we have just said, the tribune; he read a long discourse, in which, after having, as was his custom, vaunted his virtue, he complained of having been calumniated; he pointed out the enemies of the people, that is to say, his own; he pronounced a virulent declamation against the operations of the government, in which, he asserted, he had taken no part for more than four decades. He harangued, successively, against the committees of public safety, of general safety, and of the finances; he accused those committees of having sent away the cannoneers of Paris; he pretended that the patriots were oppressed; he blamed the enthusiasm with which the convention was informed of the victories of the republic; and finally declared, that he should propose the only measures which could save the country. This discourse was desired to be printed; Cou-
thon

thon demanded that it should be sent to all the *communes*. These two propositions were at first decreed. Cambon *, whose financial operations this discourse misrepresented, attacked with energy the despotism of Robespierre, whose single will had paralyzed a decree passed above a month, on a report of the committee of public safety on the subject of annuities. Billaud-Varennes declared, that the convention was imposed upon as to the cannoneers; for of the 48 companies there remained 33 at Paris, and a decree ordained that half should always remain there. He added, that the mask should be taken off from every countenance, and that, if the members of the convention did not enjoy the freedom of opinion, he had rather that his carcase should become the throne of an ambitious man, than that by his silence he should become the accomplice of his crimes †. The deputy Panis reproached

* This Cambon was a vain, obstinate, and vulgar man, devoid of eloquence, but fiery and headstrong in the tribune; the whole of his talents in finance consisted in robbing individuals legally, that is to say by a decree, to enrich the public treasury.

† The wretch! He had been till that very moment the accomplice of Robespierre. It is a lamentable truth, which the historian cannot conceal, that none of these deputies attacked the tyrant and the tyranny, while the blood of the

proached Robespierre with driving from the Jacobin club all the men of energy who would not bend under his yoke, and called on him to say whether it were true that he had proscribed several deputies, among whom he (Panis) was to be found. The discussion was renewed on the propriety of sending Robespierre's speech to the *commune*. Several members successively unfolded the dangers which would arise from sending the accusation to the *commune*, without subjoining the reply of the committees of government. The convention reported the decree. Such was the sitting of the 8th. Robespierre's speech will suffice to prove his intentions of a conspiracy, even to the most incredulous.

On the sitting of the 9th, Saint Just pronounced a discourse, nearly to the same purpose as Robespierre's. He assured the assembly that he was devoted to no party; and that if the tribune were to become to him, as it had to so

citizens, and even of their colleagues, was spilled in torrents at the caprice of the dictators; they shewed no energy till they were threatened themselves. The noble action of Tallien would have been sublime, if it had been inspired by the love of his country, and not by a desire of saving himself and his mistress. The people have not been regarded as any thing. We shall see, in the sequel, Billaud himself proposing to the Jacobins to march against the convention.

many

many others, a Tarpeian rock, he would no less declare the cause of the division which had broken out. Tallien interrupted him by a motion of order: "No good citizen," said he, "can
"restrain his tears, when he reflects on the un-
"fortunate situation to which the public inter-
"est is reduced. We see every where discord
"prevailing. Yesterday a member of the go-
"vernment insulated himself; to-day another
"does the same. I demand that the curtain be
"entirely drawn aside." Billaud-Varennes spoke next, and said, that on the preceding evening the Jacobin society was filled with hired men, since none of them had a ticket. They opened there, added he, the design of butchering the national convention. Billaud pointed out one of those men who menaced the representatives of the people on the Mountain; the wretch was apprehended. The speaker afterwards expressed his astonishment at seeing in the tribune Saint Just, who had promised the two committees to submit this discourse to their consideration before he read it, and to suppress it, if it should appear to them to be dangerous: "You will shudder
"with horror," added he, "when you are
"told that the armed force is entrusted to the
"hands of parricides; when you learn that
"those who accuse the government of putting
"at

“ at the head of the forces conspirators and nobles, are the very persons who compelled us to place there the only nobles who are among them; when you are informed that he who complains that the patriots are oppressed, arrested the best revolutionary committee in Paris, though only two of its members had been denounced. When Robespierre told you that he has absented himself from the committee because he was oppressed, he did not tell you that it was because, after having had his will there for six months, he met with resistance only at the moment when he wished to pass the decree of the 22d *Prairial* (June 10). Know, that yesterday the president of the revolutionary tribunal openly proposed to drive from the convention all the men of impurity, that is to say, all whom it was wished to sacrifice: but the nation is there; the patriots know how to meet death for the salvation of their country.” Yes, yes, exclaimed all the members. “ The men,” continued Billaud, “ who are incessantly talking of virtue, are those who trample her under foot. A secretary of the committee of public safety had stolen 114,000 *livres**. I demanded his arrest. Robe-

* 4750 l. sterling.

“ spierre

“spierre prevented his being apprehended. The
“first time that I denounced Danton in the
“committee, Robespierre rose like a madman,
“and exclaimed that I wished to destroy the
“best patriots, and the next day he himself
“accused Danton in the convention.”

Robespierre darted to the tribune; an universal cry arose of *down with the tyrant*. “The
“vail is rent,” said Tallien; “every thing an-
“nounces that the enemy of the national repre-
“sentation is about to fall under her blows.
“I was yesterday present at the sitting of the
“Jacobins; I saw the army of this second
“Cromwell marshalled, and I have armed my-
“self with a poniard to stab him to the heart,
“if the convention should not have the courage
“to decree his accusation. I demand that the
“convention declare itself permanent for the
“salvation of the people, that it decree the
“arrest of Henriot and his *Etat-major*.” The
convention instantly decreed the permanence of
its sittings, and the arrest of Henriot and his
Etat-major; and also that of Dumas, president of
the revolutionary tribunal*.

* Robespierre had no doubt a presentiment of the blow
which Tallien aimed at him. He used to say, *I cannot see
that Tallien without shuddering*.

Robespierre

Robespierre insisted upon being heard. The cry of *down with the tyrant* was renewed. Barrère advanced to the tribune. The convention decreed that he should be heard. He made a report in the name of the two committees, and proposed at the end a decree relative to the provisional organization of the national guard at Paris; he also proposed a proclamation to the French people, inviting them to rally round the national representatives. The discussion on Robespierre was continued. Several members successively accused Saint Just, Couthon, Lebas, and Robespierre the younger, as accomplices of the tyrant. The decree of arrest was put to the vote, and passed against them. Collot d'Herbois announced new facts against Robespierre and his agent Saint Just. Robespierre attacked him with the most opprobrious language; the indignant assembly ordered the decree of arrest to be put in force. The president announced that the officer met with resistance from the accused. The convention ordered that they should descend to the bar, whence they were led away by the soldiery.

In the night of the 9th, the convention was informed that the individuals who had been arrested, instead of being received at the prison
of

of the Luxembourg, had been sent by the officer on duty to the Hotel-de-Ville, where they had risen in actual rebellion against the national representative. Collot d'Herbois arrived and said: "Citizens, this is the time to die at our posts. "A set of armed villains have attacked the "committee of general safety, and have made "themselves masters of it. It is reported that "Henriot has just escaped from this committee, "and that he is led about in triumph." The convention instantly outlawed all those who were included in the decree of arrest, and who had either resisted or fled from its execution. The deputy Barras was appointed, at the motion of the two committees, to direct the armed force; and to him were added six members, invested with the same powers as the representatives of the people with the armies.

In the interim, several of the sections of Paris appeared at the bar of the convention in their turns, and assured them of their entire devotion. Many of them gave testimony of the orders they had received from the council-general of the *commune* not to communicate with any but themselves.

Already had many deputies proceeded to attack the *commune*, with the aid of those good
citizens

citizens whom it was possible to collect during the night and in so perilous a crisis. They returned soon to the convention, and announced that the commune was subdued. Every where did the citizens range themselves on the side of the convention. The commandant of the armed force, who had been put under arrest by Henriot, escaped and came to present himself to the convention; the president gave him the fraternal embrace. The conspirators at length were about to fall under the sword of their conquerors. No; that death was too honourable; the death of criminals awaited them. Their punishment was doubled by the attempts they made against their own life. Robespierre, who, in the morning while they were passing the decree of accusation, brandished a knife in his hand, with which he did not dare to stab himself, whether through cowardice or because he yet hoped to triumph, afterwards shot at himself with a pistol, which had no other effect than that of punishing him in the organs of speech which he had so much abused. His brother threw himself down from the top of the commune, and in his fall prepared sufferings for himself which the guillotine, too mild a punishment for such criminals, would have spared him. Saint Just surrendered like a coward; the moment he saw that there was no hope

hope left, the wretch said to Lebas, *kill me*. Lebas replied by the short word, *coward*; and after a pause he added, *I have something else to do*. He then fired a pistol at himself, and received his death from its shot. Henriot was cast down from a high window by Coffinhal, and was found, like Nero, in an obscure and filthy place, fruitlessly intreating that a period might be put to his existence. Henriot had told the tyrants that he would answer with his head for the success of the conspiracy. This abortive promise excited Coffinhal's rage. It is certain that the plot failed only in consequence of the want of talents and courage in the chiefs. If Henriot, when his accomplices delivered him from the committee of general safety, had attacked the convention, they would all have been slaughtered. If the commune, instead of losing time so precious, in sending commissioners into the sections to engage them to rally round their standard, had marched against the convention, the latter must infallibly have been lost. If Robespierre had been endowed with a genuine revolutionary energy, he would have put himself at the head of the insurgent *commune*, and not have lost that time in deliberation which should have been employed in action. In short, on the very morning

morning on which the decree of accusation passed, the convention was filled with his adherents. The whole revolutionary tribunal and the jurors occupied the interior of the hall. Robespierre had only to have said one word, and the whole convention would have been massacred. But supposing that all these conspirators had succeeded, what would have been the consequence but a civil war, in which they would shortly have fallen victims? They would have had against them the republicans and the royalists, who certainly never would have chosen Robespierre for their king. Couthon, immovable and half-dead, lay still till he was carried off. All the conspirators were seized: most of them were wounded and bleeding, bruised and disfigured by the blows which they had given themselves, or received from the popular fury. What an example! what a picture! Behold Robespierre lying under a table in the antichamber of that committee, where so lately he dictated the law, with a deal box for a pillow, wiping the gore from his bleeding mouth with fragments of paper, and holding in his hands, by one of those chances which do not escape an observing spectator, his pistol-bag, which reminded him, by the address of the trader who

had

had sold it, and whose sign was the *Grand Monarque*, of the goal at which his ambition aimed.

Lists signed by the hands of the conspirators, and a seal having the impresson of a *fleur-de-lys*, were found. It would appear at first, that they were intended for the purpose of raising the last shoot from the stock of the Capets to the throne of his forefathers; but an important article, discovered among the papers of the commune, explains the secret of the conspirators; it is a proclamation signed Payan and Coffinhall. "The people is informed," said these fabricators of falsehood, "that a guard, sent by the
" foreigners who dominated in the committee of
" public safety, presented itself at the Temple,
" for the purpose of carrying off the infamous
" descendants of Capet. The guard was ap-
" prehended, and the council sacrificed the Ca-
" pets." Who does not see that the truth breaks through this proclamation, of which death prevented the concealment, and that this imposture had been fabricated, in order to circulate among the people, jealous of their liberty, an odious suspicion, that the convention had intended to re-establish a king? This paper, this seal with the *fleur-de-lys*, were to form the bases of the accusation.

fation. They would have asserted, that they had found this seal upon that one of the members of the committee whom they should most have wished to have censured.

As soon as all the conspirators were in custody, Barrère proposed, in the name of the committee of public safety, a proclamation, which was adopted. It concluded with these remarkable words: " On the 14th of July, the
" people effected their revolution; on the 9th
" Thermidor (July 27), the convention brought
" about theirs; liberty equally applauds them
" both."

André Dumont denounced a fact, which proves the immorality and iniquity of the modern Cromwell and his brother. Lafond de Toulouse, justice of the peace with the army of Italy, came to Paris to develop the enormous dilapidations of the younger Robespierre, who was heaping up treasures at the expence of the public; he addressed himself to a member of the committee of general safety, who, either through fear, or perhaps because he was yet the dupe of the profound hypocrisy of the usurper, sent him to that monster, who caused him to be thrown into prison, where he languish-

ed for six months. The convention ordered citizen Lafond to be set at liberty.

In the afternoon of the 10th Thermidor of the second year (July 8, 1794), all the conspirators were executed in the square of the revolution, where they had murdered so many innocent persons. Other accomplices were punished with them, amongst whom were Henriot's aides-de-camp, and some members of his *etat-major*. The number of those who were executed on that day was twenty-two. Thus fell the edifice of the most horrible tyranny which has ever sullied the annals of the world! A breath, an instant overturned this scaffolding of grandeur, of crimes, and of power, which had been propped by so many murders. If all these conspirators had shown themselves eager for blood during the time of their monstrous domination, the people no less showed themselves eager for justice, by the applause they bestowed on their punishment.

When on the 9th Thermidor (July 27) the decree of accusation against Maximilian Robespierre was put to the vote, his brother and Lebas demanded that they might share his fate. The deputy David, who, on the preceding even-

ing, had proposed to Robespierre to drink hemlock with him, did not shew an equal courage at the moment of the catastrophe of this drama. Barrère, who has belonged to all the factions, and who, the night before, had flattered Robespierre, abandoned him when he saw ruin ready to burst on his head. It remains to observe, that a man named Fleuriot, a creature of Henriot, had succeeded Pache in the mayoralty. Not that Pache had not shewn a disposition, under all circumstances, but particularly on the 31st of May, to second the most criminal designs. It is well known that, at that disastrous epoch, clandestine consultations were held at the *commune**, that the mayor Pache was politic enough not to honour them often with his presence, but that he protected them with his influence, and was the soul of the party. Robespierre and the committees of government were not always spared there. The vindictive Robespierre did not forget this circumstance; this

* One of the witnesses of these *conventionicide-conciliabules*, the impious Deneffe, of the section of Popincourt, gave notice of them to the revolutionary committee, of which he was member; he well deserved to be Pache's bosom friend. It was this confidant of Pache's, who, learning that his arrest was decreed by the section, on account of his being a Septemberizer, poisoned his wife and his three children in Prairial 1795 (May or June). He at length atoned for his crimes with his life.

was the reason of his procuring the arrest of Pache, and the appointment of Fleuriot as his successor. The usurper had besides unmasked Pache's character: he was a man of very moderate abilities, but laborious and informed, concealing his insignificance by an easy mode, that of speaking little; he was as cold, as silent, as dissembling, and as ambitious as Robespierre, but he possessed not his audacity, or else he had infinitely more prudence. Pache's character prevented him from committing himself at any time, and never suffered him to lay himself open; he was disposed to do any thing; he would have seconded the conspirators on this occasion, as he did on the 31st of May; but he had not boldness enough to declare himself as openly as Fleuriot did. Pache, or those who wish to justify him, say, that if he had only permitted them to act as they wished, the whole convention would have been sacrificed; but this is a very unskilful falsehood. Pache would, with the same indifference, have suffered the whole convention to be slaughtered, as he permitted twenty-two members to be proscribed; but Marat, and the other factious men, at that time wished for no more. Pache was the son of a domestic of the late Countess of Lamark; she obtained for him the place of secretary to the Marshal de Castries,

tries, who afterwards put him into the war-office.

It may not be useless to make the reader acquainted with some other persons who, at this calamitous period, had an influence on our destiny. Alas! what times were those when a Rolland, a man of virtue and integrity, did not dare to denounce openly the authors of the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September, in the report which he made, as minister of the interior; when a Garat, a man equally honest, and equally a friend to order and the laws, did not dare to denounce the plot of the 31st of May? It was, undoubtedly, a weakness in those ministers; but they were at least incapable of approving or aiding those transactions. One sees, in their reports, all the anxiety of their minds, all the horror they felt at those proscriptions.

Let us return to the persons who surrounded Robespierre. Henriot, at first a servant, then a soldier in the army sent to the colonies, afterwards a clerk at the barriers, and at length appointed commandant by one of the sections, was at last made general on the 31st of May. He was vain, ignorant, and presumptuous; he was as unskillful and as ferocious as Santerre, who
was

was a mere brewer before he was a general. Since Robespierre aspired at being an Augustus, he should have been able, like that tyrant, to have distinguished an Agrippa, and have consigned a Henriot to his original meanness and obscurity.

We have already delineated the supple and crouching character of Barrère ; he was not, it is said, born wicked, but did he not flatter, support, and serve the tyranny ? A man should quit an office, when he perceives that he has not the courage to perform its duties with honour, and at the peril of his life. This is the time when he may be able to boast that he has passed through all the factions. A decree, of which we shall soon give an account, banished Collot, Billaud, Barrère, and Vadier. Why has it not been enforced against Barrère ? The amnesty published on the 4th Germinal (March 24) cannot be applicable to him ; and, if it were, why should not Collot and Billaud reap the benefit of it ?

David the painter, one of those who, from similarity of character, was most intimately connected with Robespierre, deserves to be distinguished among these prodigies of ferocity. It

was he who said, "*If I love blood, it is because nature has given me the disposition.*" He went to see the execution of his friends and colleagues Desmoulins and Danton, on the 3d of September. The deputy Reboul saw David, at the very moment when they were massacring the prisoners at *La Force*, tranquilly drawing a picture of the dying, whom they were heaping on the dead. *What are you doing there, M. David?* said he. *I am catching, replied the painter, the last emotions of nature in these scoundrels.* "Go," said M. Reboul, "you affect me with horror; I could not conceive that you were capable of such barbarity. What a pity it is, that such great talents should be united to so corrupt a heart; and how is it that the fine arts do not soften the most obdurate soul?"

Leonard Bourdon, who presided at the massacre of the prisoners removed from Orleans to Versailles, was also intimately connected with Robespierre; but his secret adviser, his guide, his tutelary genius, was Payan, a villain of as black a dye as either Robespierre or Marat, but who, not being a deputy, was constrained to employ his great talents in the service of others.

How

How inexplicable is the nature of man ! Who can tell which of these beings was the most skilful adept in ferocity ? Who can tell whether so many men of ambition, without the means of success, were more silly or wicked, more wicked or insane ? They aimed at nothing but mutual destruction, without being aware that this very division among themselves, by augmenting the force of their common and avowed, as well as of other secret enemies, would at length ensure their own ruin. Who can explain by what secret mechanism of the human frame it is, that ferocity, which presupposes a certain degree of energy, since energy is necessary to do evil as well as good, is ordinarily the associate of cowardice and extreme weakness ? Who was ever more cowardly or more ferocious than a Carrier, a Coffinhall, a Saint-Just, a Robespierre, a Marat, or a Danton ; in short, than that host of monsters which lighted on France like a cloud of devouring insects ?

The tragical end of almost all these tyrants ought to deter their imitators ; but what is the force of example against the thirst for greatness and the intoxication of power ? On the 11th of the same month Thermidor, (July 29,) seventy-

one members of the conspiring *commune* fell under the axe of the law. The revolutionary tribunal, that Areopagus of hangmen, was suspended from its functions. The men of virtuous intention have begun to open their hearts to hope; the air has appeared purer, and the sky more serene, since these men, whose names have sullied our pen, and stained the pages of this history, have ceased to infect the atmosphere with their presence. Coffinhall, vice-president of the revolutionary tribunal *, did not suffer punishment till the 18th (August 5); he had concealed himself during this interval, and had not the courage to take advantage of this opportunity to kill himself. The people reproached these vile conspirators with not manifesting, as they went to the scaffold, the same serenity which had been displayed by their innocent victims. As the execution of this judge, during the suspension of the revolutionary tribunal, may throw some embarrassment on this part of the history, it is necessary to remark, that the criminal tribunal of the department was authorised to pass sentence on this wretch. He had been put out of the protection of the law; so that the office of the judges was limited to the

* Coffinhall has left two brothers, who are as honest and humane as he was the reverse.

identification of names and persons by the testimony of the witnesses.

It remains to insert a part of the report made by Courtois, in the name of the committee entrusted with the examination of the papers found in the houses of Robespierre and his accomplices. This report, which was made in the convention on the 18th Nivose of the 3d year, (Jan. 4, 1795,) is perhaps the only production which may be compared with Tacitus and Salust, for eloquence and depth of reflection, and for that darkness of colouring with which the crimes of tyranny should be painted. In it will be found details valuable, not only as they contribute to throw great light on the plan of the conspirators, but still more for the display of the atrocious conduct of the proconsuls who were sent on a mission into the department.

Extract of Courtois's Report.

“ There is but one reply to make to those incredulous persons who dare not believe in the conspiracy of Robespierre. To save them from the torture of doubt, and to ease their conscience,

“ conscience, Robespierre * has taken care him-
 “ self to delineate the plan of his conspiracy:
 “ 1st, he says, We must have money; 2dly,
 “ an address to the departments; 3dly, couriers
 “ with the commissioners in our armies; 4thly,
 “ a confederation of the *communes* of Paris and
 “ Marseilles; 5thly, we must arm and pay the
 “ *sans-culottes*; 6thly, suspend labour till the
 “ country is saved; lastly, *change the position*.
 “ This last word is a proof of the project of dis-
 “ solving the convention. It coincides perfectly
 “ with the avowal made by Elie Lacoste, in this
 “ tribune, on the day of the tyrant’s fall, or the
 “ day after, that, *six months before, Robespierre*
 “ *had proposed to the two united committees to*
 “ *suspend the sittings of the assembly* †.

“ The terror which Robespierre excited in
 “ the breasts of others, fell back on his own,
 “ Just chastisement of the tyrant! His gloomy
 “ character increased in gloom; his complexion
 “ was a mixture of the livid colour of envy and
 “ the paleness of guilt. The assassin of his
 “ country dreamed no longer of any thing but

* See No. 49 of the papers in justification of this report.

† How did it happen that Elie Lacoste, and the members of the committees, did not immediately denounce the proposal?

“ assassina-

" assassination; his sleep was the sleep of Nero;
 " his waking moments were also those of Nero.
 " Cromwell's twelve palaces would not have
 " been sufficient to afford him an escape from
 " that invisible fury which constantly and with-
 " out interruption pursued him, and whose
 " bloody lashes whirled his ferocious heart*.
 " The approach of any one, the letters he re-
 " ceived, every thing augmented his dread.

" A young girl wished to see what a tyrant
 " was—it was judged to be with a design of as-
 " sassinating him. All the unfortunate family
 " of Cecile were involved in this imaginary
 " plot. Her old father was butchered in order
 " to punish him for the exertions of his daugh-
 " ter's curiosity †. Even that was thought too
 " little; sixty innocent persons, who had been
 " for the *space of six months* chained in a dun-
 " geon, were pointed out as the accomplices of a
 " girl whom they had never seen; as the ac-
 " complices of an assassination attempted *within*
 " *eight days*. The complaisant committee
 " clothed them in the purple garments of assas-

* We find a little too much declamation in this report, but
ubi plura nitent, non ego paucis offendar maculis.

† Cecile being interrogated as to the object of her visit to
 Robespierre, replied: *I wished to see how a tyrant was made.*

" *fin.*

“ fins. Their blood spouted on the earth, and
“ the greedy tomb devoured them.

“ What a number of men sacrificed for the
“ preservation of a ferocious wild beast !

“ A plan of flight was concerted between
“ Robespierre and one of his confidants, con-
“ cealed under the veil of synonymous corres-
“ pondence. This fact is proved by a very
“ significant letter, without date of place or time,
“ addressed to him soon after the feast to the
“ Eternal. This letter is written in the manner
“ of an answer. He is requested to rest in tran-
“ quillity as to the objects which his address had
“ prepared *from the commencement of his fears*.
“ ‘ At present,’ he is told, ‘ you must employ
“ all the vigilance which *flight from a theatre*,
“ where you will soon appear and disappear for
“ the last time, requires. It would be useless to
“ remind you of the reasons which expose you to
“ this ; for this last step which has just seated you
“ on the couch of the presidency, approximates
“ you to the *scaffold*, where you would see the
“ same mob, who insulted those whom you con-
“ demned, spit in your face also. Egalité or
“ d’Orleans affords you an example. Thus,
“ since you have amassed a treasure sufficient to
“ support

“ support you a long time, as well as those
 “ persons for whom I have received part of it
 “ from you, I expect you with great impatience,
 “ that we may laugh together at the part you
 “ have played in the troubles of a nation, equally
 “ credulous and desirous of novelty.’

“ We see the apostles of crimes, the mission-
 “ aries of death, set out from the den of the com-
 “ mittee of public safety. Carrier is dispatched
 “ into *La Vendée*; Joseph Lebon into the depart-
 “ ment of *Pas-de-Calais*; Maignet is sent to the
 “ country which is washed by the waters of the
 “ Rhone and of Vaucluse; Collot flies into the
 “ departments of *Rhone-et Loire*; and I hold in
 “ my hands proofs the most convincing of the
 “ desire which Couthon had of trying in the de-
 “ partment of the Var, what he called the system
 “ of *full force* *, of going, in one word, to set
 “ fire to Toulon.

“ At the name of Carrier, the smoking map
 “ of *La Vendée* is unfolded before us. Those
 “ execrable *gabares* † are filled under your eyes,

* Another expression for terror.

† A sort of vessel with valves, which opened to facilitate drowning.

“ are

“ are loaden with old men, women, and chil-
 “ dren; and Carrier, a second Anicet, drowns
 “ his country, as Nero drowned his mother.
 “ It is too little for him to imitate the cruelties
 “ of this vile emperor; he surpassed his lascivious
 “ vious rage. Nero, with an eye burning with
 “ incestuous flames, devoured the livid beauties
 “ of his murdered mother. Carrier, with his
 “ bloody and letcherous eyes, gazes on the nakedness
 “ of his victims whom he dares to
 “ couple in death*; willing, without doubt, to
 “ offer a double insult to nature; to whom, in
 “ the spectacle of destruction itself, he seems to
 “ offer that of the reproduction of being. He
 “ called this mode of drowning, *the celebration*
 “ *of republican marriages*. Thus, like all our
 “ revolutionary monsters, he added derision and
 “ pleasantry to his brutal ferocity†.

“ Let us quit these infernal regions of *La*
 “ *Vendée*, and turn towards Arras, where Joseph

* Persons of both sexes, quite naked, were bound two and two together, with their faces turned toward each other, and in this state were drowned.

† Carrier always, in my presence, disavowed these horrors. I should have deserved, he has said, a thousand deaths if it were true. When the proofs arrived, it was no longer possible to doubt.

“ Lebon

" Lebon was dyed with the blood of his bre-
 " thren, where you will see him multiplying pu-
 " nishments and death on the very soil where
 " he first drew breath, as if to punish it for
 " having brought forth two such monsters as
 " himself and Robespierre.

" This is the hour of carnage. We must
 " traverse ruins, walk upon ashes, and trample
 " on carcases. Your ears will be terrified with
 " groans, with the cries of anguish, and of the
 " death of almost an entire generation; you are
 " going to be present at her expiring agonies.

" Let us mark the horrible Lebon, who has
 " so well described his own sanguinary character
 " in his letters; who, surrounded with the ob-
 " jects of his wanton fury, in his murderous
 " embraces, might have said, with more truth
 " than Caligula formerly said to Cæsonia, *That*
 " *fine head, however, will be cut off as soon as I*
 " *issue the order*; and who realised what the Ro-
 " man tyrant had only imagined in the midst
 " of the caresses of love.

" Throughout the whole of Lebon's corres-
 " pondence there are manifest traces of a cri-
 " minal connection between him and the com-
 " mittee.

“ mittee. A letter signed Darthé comes in aid
“ of these proofs: here follows an extract from
“ it*.

“ The committee of public safety has told Le-
“ bon, that they hoped we should go on every
“ day better and better. Robespierre wished
“ that each of us *could alone constitute a tribunal,*
“ *and that each of us could grasp a town on the*
“ *frontier.*

“ After these words came the following;
“ an astonishing connection! *Virtue and inte-*
“ *grity are more than ever the order of the day.*

“ Cast an eye, citizens, on the commercial
“ towns, the nurseries of the republic; Arras,
“ Lyons, Nîmes, Bourdeaux, Brest, Nantes, and
“ Orange; every one of them presents to you
“ tears to wipe away, blood to staunch, sepulchres
“ to close; every one has had her Dumas,
“ her Fouquier. These tribunals were so
“ many colonies of cut-throats migrating from
“ the tribunal at Paris, which was the model for
“ the choice of the members of which they were
“ composed.

* This letter was found among Lebas's papers.

“ Alas !

“ Alas ! the terrible instrument of death grew
“ up like a venomous plant in all parts of the re-
“ public. O Lyons ! city famous for thy com-
“ merce ; who is this second Gengis, (Collot
“ d’Herbois,) who lights on thy walls with the
“ axe and thunder in his hands ? It is then done ;
“ thy ruin is sworn. If it be true that the fire
“ which has destroyed this other Troy, has been
“ lighted through hatred excited by her rich
“ manufactures ; if the means of accommoda-
“ tion have not yet been annihilated, have not
“ yet been even attempted ; if it is true that
“ Lyons was guilty only in appearance ; that
“ Lyons in general was virtuous ; that Lyons
“ had accepted the constitution ; that Couthon
“ rejected the petition of the unfortunate persons
“ who repented ; what regret, citizens, for the
“ patriots ! Yet what we now say as in doubt, has
“ been attested by many writings. ‘ Try to pre-
“ vent,’ said a representative of the people at
“ the time, ‘ the desolation of a city ; thousands
“ of patriots mutually destroy each other, while
“ they are all desirous of doing good.’

“ But what plaintive and lamentable cries are
“ those which proceed from the vaulted caverns
“ on the banks of the Rhone ? Who has changed,
“ all on a sudden, the silver waters of Vaucluse into

“ waves of blood? Who has reddened the verdure
“ of these vallies? What malevolent genius has
“ spread his wings and shed his baneful influence
“ over the country? What demon has vomited
“ out vice? Maignet, thy name is pronounced.
“ Every thing is organized, every thing assumes
“ a shape, a voice for thy accusation. The
“ earth gives up her carcases; the dead re-ap-
“ pear before thee; they name thee in their silence.
“ You made an avowal to Couthon, that you
“ increased the number of the imprisoned in the
“ two departments, to 12 or 15,000.”

We shall now make a few reflections on Carrier, which may be of general application. Carrier, with a heated imagination, and an inflammable heart, carried in his bosom the seeds of great ferocity. He was an enthusiast for revolution; he was the true Seide of Robespierre, and this is a new proof that fanaticism is the parent of ferocity. Carrier was ignorant, and he believed that the means he employed were the best adapted to determine the fate of the revolution. His natural ferocity made him shut his eyes to the horrors of his means. His misfortune was to have been elevated into a situation which he was not qualified to occupy. Immoral and ambitious, cowardly and timorous, he would have killed his own father,

father, if the tyrant had ordered him. He loved the revolution, not from an elevation of soul, of which he was incapable, but because he was in expectation of places more lucrative than his profession of a lawyer, in the exercise of which he had been reproached with some acts of roguery. He was never admitted into the secret of the tyrants; he was nothing more than a subaltern instrument; he was only the executioner of their victims. What we have just said of Carrier, may be equally applied to the greater part of his colleagues, his competitors in cruelty. We shall see the same enormities renewed whenever the people shall again choose immoral men, springing from nothing, knowing nothing, and possessing nothing.

Another existing proof, that the decemvirs authorized the general proscription which took place, is founded on the following circumstance. I was once conversing with Carrier and Mirandé, deputies of Cantal, who lodged in the same house with J. B. Lacoste, when I heard Carrier say to Lacoste, who had that moment arrived from his mission to the army of the north;
“ You must take care not to go out for a day
“ or two. In the mean time I will go to the
“ committee of public safety in order to protect
“ you,

“ you, for your life is in danger.” “ It is very
“ astonishing,” replied Lacoste, “ that the being
“ merciful should be imputed to me as a crime,
“ and that I should be accused of being a *modéré*.
“ Yet I have raised that country to the height
“ of the revolution ; I have purified the etat-
“ major of the army ; I have even instituted a
“ popular committee. We have saved the
“ country *, but I will never shed innocent
“ blood.” Mirande and I added, that it was
very singular to impute humanity to a deputy as
a crime, especially when he was just returned
from repairing the losses of our armies, and that
they ought to applaud the union of gentleness
and patriotism. Carrier said, *You are right, but*
the committee are not of the same opinion. He
however obtained the pardon of Lacoste, who
was succeeded by Lebas and Saint Just.

Such are the horrors which have sullied our
revolution, that in proportion as it has created
crimes, it becomes necessary to invent words to
express them. After the revolution of the 9th
Thermidor (July 27) of which we have just
given the details, there was excited a re-action,

* It was through the talents of General Hoche that La-
coste saved the country ; but if he had not been a republican,
he would have impeded the execution of the general's plans.

the more bloody in proportion as oppression had been the stronger. Those who had concurred in the tyranny of Robespierre were denominated Terrorists, Robespierrists, and Maratists: those pure patriots, who had pronounced their sentiments with any degree of energy, were also frequently confounded under these general denominations. The re-actors in their turns were called *new terrorists* or *furorists*. Thus in the course of revolution what is a virtue at one time becomes a crime at another; and these terms *crime* and *virtue*, have no fixed or determinate sense. The same man is called divine by one, while he is esteemed a villain by the adverse party. The historian of a revolution has therefore the task of perpetually comparing reciprocal falsehoods. One faction seeks to wrap itself up in the clouds of obscurity, and to throw its own wrongs on the others. Have they not dared to say that several lords of manors burned their *chateaux* themselves, in order to calumniate the people? Has it not been said that the convention endured Robespierre like cowards, and took vengeance on him in the same manner by assassination; though it is clear that he would not have been condemned without a hearing before the judges appointed for the purpose, had he not by his conduct in seeking to elude the law, and ex-

citing the *commune* to insurrection, compelled them to outlaw him? Are there not persons who dare to affirm that the plot of the 13th Vendemiaire (Oct. 4) was not a movement of the Royalists*? Have there not been found juries and tribunals, who declared there existed no plot, in *Vendemiaire*, (October,) to slaughter the convention, or, which is much the same thing, to dissolve it by force? There are even some who assert that the convention provoked this commotion. Has it not been published, that on the 10th of August the people were fired on with cannon loaded with grape shot, when it is well known, that there was only a running fire of musquetry for a few minutes? This was undoubtedly highly wrong and greatly mischievous, but where is the necessity of exaggeration? It is with the scales of impartiality in our hands, that we proceed to trace, in the following book, all the transactions which succeeded what has been called the *Thermidorian re-action*, because they could not have taken place without the revolution of the 9th Thermidor. There remains first to be inserted some important pieces of evidence relative to the events we have been describing. The first furnishes the proof we have promised,

* There were some zealous republicans, even among the leaders, but the generality were royalists.

of the assertion that the Jacobins, and the greater part of the popular societies, were accomplices, and even paid for the purposes of its execution, in the project of massacring the rich, and of levelling, revolutionizing, and *sans culottizing* the nation, to use their own barbarous expressions. When the seal, which was put on the register of the mother-society, was taken off after the 9th Thermidor, the following articles were found:

Extract of the Registers of the Jacobin Society, in the Street Honoré, dated the 25th Brumaire, of the 2d Year of the Republic (Nov. 15, 1793).

“ The committee of public safety, considering the popular societies as necessary to the
 “ propagation of good principles, decrees that
 “ there shall be distributed among them the
 “ sum of 100,000 *livres* (near 4200*l.* sterling). Signed in the register, Billaud Varenne,
 “ Robespierre, Carnot, Barrère, Robert Lindet.”

Proofs of the Services done to the Republic and the Sans Culottes by the Mother-society, authorized by the ancient Committees of Public and General Safety.

“ The society of the friends of liberty, desirous of proving its zeal for the public welfare,
 “ fare,

“ fare, proposes the following plan to the com-
 “ mittees of the convention. 1st, When by the
 “ machination of opulent men, troubles are ex-
 “ cited in the *communes*, that the assembly do
 “ immediately declare them in an actual state of
 “ rebellion. 2d, That the convention invite
 “ the poor to profit of this opportunity, in
 “ order to make war on the rich, and establish
 “ order, *at any expence.*” We think it unne-
 cessary to comment on these last words.

Relative to the massacres of the 2d and 3d of
 September, here follows an address to all their
 brethren of the republic, from the citizens of
 Paris, formed in a central committee, adopted
 by the commissioners of the sections of Paris,
 assembled at the bishop's palace; signed d'Acard
 president, and Dumonceau secretary; and issued
 from the bibliographic printing-office of the sec-
 tion of *La Réunion*. “ Such was the situation
 “ of the Parisians, that it was necessary to sacri-
 “ fice a handful of wretches, or consent to the
 “ destruction of whatever we and our country
 “ held most dear. We believed, in this dread-
 “ ful alternative, in which time for deliberation
 “ was not afforded us, that we were able to
 “ wrest the sword of the law from the hands
 “ of the treacherous and perfidious. *We have*
 “ dyed

" dyed it only with the blood of the guilty."

What ! a man is guilty because he is in chains ! unarmed prisoners must be massacred, or the country will be ruined ! This abominable address was the cause of the massacre of the prisoners in many other communes. Danton, then minister of justice, wrote into the departments, to excite them to imitate these bloody executions of defenceless sufferers *. The tiger is less a tiger than man.

Robespierre is no more, and the employment of the hangman has ceased. Now is it that justice is really the order of the day. The national convention act with justice, even towards those of their members who have so often set at nought her forms, which they thought too slow. This assembly, restored to itself, and having triumphed, by its own courage alone, over its most terrible enemies, will no longer present to our view any other spectacle, than the striking one of a senate incessantly employed in healing the

* Yet it was this Danton whom some persons appeared so much to regret, that when Robespierre, feeling himself ill, as he descended from the tribune on the 9th Thermidor, complained that he could not speak well enough to make his defence, a deputy said to him, " Wretch, do you not perceive that it is Danton's blood which runs in your mouth, and prevents your speaking?"

deep

deep and almost incurable wounds inflicted on the public weal by dominators, dilapidators, and assassins. Famine, the consequence of the *maximum*, of the requisition, and of the right of seizure for the public use; the depreciation of the assignats; and the criminal projects of the members of the ancient committees of government, who survived Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint Just, for the purpose of regaining their ancient pre-eminence, or at least of escaping the punishment due to their crimes, threw great obstacles in the way of the pure intentions of the majority of the convention. This majority itself displayed an apathy and weakness little calculated for the great task which remained to be performed. The first thing necessary, without which, indeed, there would be no hope for the safety of the country, was to punish the great criminals, who had overwhelmed France with enormities and with blood, and who yet had seats in the national assembly. It appeared as if the convention had pardoned Robespierre's accomplices, in consideration of the division, which the jealousy of power, and the partition of the tyranny had occasioned among the decemvirs. The Mountain, who began to dread the hour of national vengeance, and the punishment of their
their

their crimes, had obtained the decree for the inviolability of the individual persons of the representatives of the people ; a law which they would soon have violated, if they had gained the superiority, with the same audacity with which the inviolability of the deputies had been proscribed under Robespierre. There is no doubt that a representative of the people cannot be deprived of his liberty, but by a decree of the national assembly of which he is a member, and to which alone he belongs. To admit a doubt of this principle, would be to allow that a constituted authority, a simple public officer, a committee, which is but a subordinate fraction of the assembly, should have the right of attacking the national representation in its very essence and integrity ; the right of overturning the sovereignty of the people, by eluding the choice they have made. This is the opportunity to combat the sophisms advanced by the decemvirs, when they said, *That there ought to be no distinction between a representative of the people and any other citizen.* We think it right to transcribe here a passage in the report made by Saladin, in the name of the committee of twenty-one, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak. This passage is the more interesting, inasmuch as it develops the perfidious arts by which Robe-

7 spierre,

spierre, Barrère, and others, found means to oppress the convention, and to gain possession of the sovereign authority, by obtaining for the committees, that is to say, for themselves, the right of arresting a representative of the people, by a miserable abuse of the principles of equality. "Without doubt," says the reporter, "there ought to be no distinction between a representative and another citizen; or if these can exist one, it should be this, that the punishment of a guilty and prevaricating representative should be more prompt, more solemn, and more severe." Was there, however, any room for this comparison, which they affected to make as of individual with individual? If a member of the representative body were thus to be considered, in relation to the transactions of the tribunals, of the constituted authorities, and of the committees, would it not necessarily lead to the annihilation of the national representation? Can there be a more evident act of oppression and usurpation, than that by which the committees were authorized to accuse a member of the convention, without his being permitted to be heard in the assembly? It was certainly an instance of great *magnanimity* in the convention to pass this law of inviolability, at a time when it could only protect monsters and vultures who preyed

preyed on the human race. The effects of this law were soon perceived, when the public indignation, the more violent the more it had been compressed, called down the national vengeance on Carrier's head; after many delays, he was tried and executed.

The majority of the convention had always the weakness to fear the crisis which this signal act of national justice might bring on; they appeared to apprehend, that the numerous accomplices of Robespierre would be again in agitation, and would invoke his shade once more to shed the baneful influence of the most sanguinary discord over the land. The convention, at least, had the intention of cleansing the soil of the republic from the principal traitors; but an empire is not saved by half measures. Weak modes of action are the most cruel, because they are of no effect. The public opinion was strongly expressed. It was under these circumstances, that the convention decreed that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine the conduct of Collot, Billaud-Varenne, Barrère, and Vadier. It was matter of astonishment, that they had the weakness not to involve in one fate with those criminals, others who, for a long time, had been engaged

engaged with them in a community of crimes. This indulgence, this great error, renewed their hopes and their audacity. The committee, obliged to employ a long time in the verification of a large body of evidence, at length presented a report in favour of the accusation. The convention ordered the arrest of the four persons before mentioned; but the time employed in the printing and distribution of the report, necessarily delayed the discussion, and permitted the friends of guilt, and the numerous body of agitators, which are generally found in an immense *commune*, to organize an insurrection, by favour of which the criminals might escape, and perhaps prevail again, and renew the reign of terror. We had just experienced one of those winters, the severity and length of which form an epoch in history; and famine added to this scourge. The sections presented themselves in a point of view not very encouraging, on account of their great diversity of opinions. New sources of discord had for some time been opened. The Parisian youth, amongst whom there was scarcely one who had not seen a father, a brother, a relation or a friend fall beneath the decemviral axe, celebrated the revolution of the 9th Thermidor, by singing or causing to be sung in the theatres, and at every opportunity which occurred,

occurred, a song called *Le Reveil du Peuple*, levelled at the Terrorists, Robespierrists, and the blood-suckers*. The partizans of Collot, Barrère, Billaud, and Vadier persuaded the inhabitants of the *faubourgs*, not without foundation, that these young men, whom they called the *gilded youth*, wished to re-establish royalty. In short, the latter end of Ventose (the middle of March) and the beginning of Germinal (the latter end of March) laid the foundation of great events. An inflammatory petition was presented in the name of the *faubourg* † celebrated for the destruction of the Bastille. The latter part of the time, a tumultuous deputation of women made their appearance, who would

* This hymn became a rallying signal to the royalists. We shall soon see these youths, who then supported the sound part of the convention from a hatred of the Mountain, and from the hope of overthrowing in the end the whole convention, after they had subdued the Mountain; rising in insurrection against the national assembly, and insolently demanding that the Marseillois hymn should no longer be sung. In short, they began to assume a dress, which events have clearly proved was a signal agreed on by the royalists. It consisted of a black collar, a green cravat, and the hair tied in long tresses. All these hopes of the aristocracy have failed. We shall shortly explain by what a chain of circumstances, which appear almost miraculous, the aristocracy itself, and the youth of Paris, saved the republic by the very means which they employed to ruin it.

† Faubourg St. Antoine.

not enter the convention except in a body. Royalism and Terrorism were at the same time in agitation, though with different views; but both parties agreed in the wish of dissolving the convention. The Terrorists added to this desire the threat of massacring the young men, pointed out by the descriptive name of *Muscadins*, which, as subsequent events have demonstrated, they deserved. A petition from the section of *les Quinze-vingts* signalized the 11th Germinal (March 31st). Under pretence of demanding provisions, the petitioners protested against the arrest of some wicked men, whom they styled patriots. On the 12th (April 1st) another section came and delivered similar sentiments.

In the mean time a considerable assembly was formed in the section of the city, under the guidance of d'Obsen, who succeeded to the presidency of the revolutionary tribunal, after the execution of Dumas and his accomplices. The men who composed this meeting refused to receive their share of bread, and prevented even the peaceable citizen from receiving his, in order to take advantage of his despair to draw him into their net. They at the same time corresponded with the agitators of the sections of the *Invalids* and the *Quinze-vingts*. The point of union

union was at the convention, against whom the menacing horde of these pretended petitioners directed their attack. A report on the subject of provision was suddenly interrupted by tumultuous cries. The rebels force the guard of the senate; they flock into this sacred temple, they demand with loud outcries, bread, the constitution of 1793, and the liberty of the patriots, that is to say, of those to whom their party gave that name, those who had been imprisoned since the 9th Thermidor. While the senate was there exposed to the daggers of assassins, the sense of danger inspired sudden resolution, the *generale* was beat in every section. Pichegru, the subjugator of Holland, who had been three days in Paris, was appointed to the command of the national guard; but these troops assembled very slowly; in four hours, Pichegru could only collect round the convention a weak body of 80 or 100 men. The discussion, if that which was passing in the hall of the convention could be called so, was supported by Prieur de la Marne, who moved the restoration of the Terrorists to freedom, by Montaut, Duhem, and Choudieu. In the interim the tocsin was rung; the sections hastened from all quarters to form a rampart round the convention; which once more was set at liberty. The conspirators trembled, they

were thrown into disorder, and the danger was over. It was as short as it was terrible. Proofs of a dreadful plot arrived from every part. The deputies Charles and Choudieu pointed out to the revolvers André Dumont, who was in the chair, and said: *Royalism is in the chair*. The representative Anguis, who was sent to enlighten the people, was stopped and wounded. They fired on Penière his colleague, who flew to his assistance; he escaped death only by his courage and presence of mind. In the mean time the fate of three of the accused was determined. They were to be instantly transported. The assembly decreed the arrest of the deputies Fousfesoire, Ruamps, Charles, Huguet, and Amar. Duhem, author of a counter-revolutionary address presented that morning by himself, to the section of the *Invalids*; Choudieu, the assassin of the virtuous Philippeaux; and Leonard Bourdon, the murderer of the prisoners of Orleans at Versailles, and all who were included in this decree, were conducted to the castle of Ham in Picardy. A calm ensued, but the departure of the three who were condemned to transportation, met with some obstructions, excited by their partizans, and supported by an immense crowd, who thought that these criminals were not sufficiently punished. At length this fresh commotion

commotion was appeased. All those who were apprehended were sent off, some to the Isle of Oleron, the others to the castle of Ham. It will be seen that it was the awkwardness of the mode adopted, and the slowness and discordance of the execution, which saved the convention and the public, and which gave an exact notion of the incapacity of the conspirators; but what will be thought of our principles of government, which, to this day, have been to take no vigorous steps till the moment of public danger, and thus betrayed every thing by a fatal tranquillity? The committee made their report, and the convention was occupied with the painful task of examining this charnel house of crimes. The evidence in support of the report proves, that Duhem gave money to the murderer of Raffet; that Cambon, Granet, and Thuriot were guilty of enormous offences; that Maignet, the Carrier of the South, Hentz who in the space of two hours burned a whole town in the palace, and filled the wells with heaps of slaughtered victims, Levasseur de la Sarthe, Moïse Bayle, Crassous, and Lecointre, who only undertook to denounce great criminals, in order, to sell them his assistance at a greater price, have not even the shadow of innocence. In the same sitting, it was proposed to abolish

capital punishments; but the convention called to mind that the crimes of Joseph Lebon were yet unpunished, and the proposition was adjourned to times of greater felicity. On the 21st (April 10), the convention decreed that the terrorists should be disarmed; yet the convention shewed itself as weak through excessive indulgence as it had been great and energetic. The transaction of the 12th and 13th Germinal (April 1st and 2d) had little or no good consequence. The incalculable error committed in delivering the tyrants of France from the power of the tribunals made the same error necessary with regard to their subalterns. In the midst of this political lethargy, the conspiracy of 29th Germinal (April 18) broke out, and was instantly defeated; but its failure was only the effect of a fortunate chance. Cambon and Thuriot, who had escaped the decree of accusation, had prepared a new commotion in concert with those of their partizans who concurred in the convention. The only subject of doubt was the time proper for its execution. The night between the 29th and 30th (April 18 and 19), on which Lagrelée, a *gendarme*, and one of their associates, was to give the watch-word, was chosen in preference to the preceding night; and it was on the 29th only, that the committee received

received the first intelligence of the plot. But for this excess of precaution in the conspirators, the 28th and 29th would have been the last of the republic. Montaut had undertaken to organize the seditious assemblies; to exhibit himself there in the dress of a representative; to open the prisons, and arm all the Jacobins, terrorists, blood-suckers, and miscreants of a vast city, all of whom were the mortal enemies of the convention. A decree of accusation was passed against him. The month of Floreal (April and May) was spent in complete inaction; but every thing prognosticated fresh commotions. The continually increasing depreciation of the assignats augmented the public misery. On a sudden, in the morning of the 1st Prairial (May 20), the beating of the alarm dismayed the timid, and invited the seditious to assemble, in order to be beforehand with those whose office it was to restrain their violence. A petition, or rather a sort of manifesto, was publicly distributed to all the individuals susceptible of seduction. A collection of female furies covered the square of the Carouzel, and the court of the *Palais-National*. Bread was demanded with the loudest cries; but their ferocious language announced the most ardent thirst of blood. The gates of the senate were broken down and forced.

forced. Ferraud, who had been but two decades returned from the army of the Moselle; Ferraud, who had signalized his courage in the North and the South; the young and amiable representative Ferraud flies to meet these furies; he exhorts, he intreats, he conjures them, on his knees, to respect the senate, and not to ruin the republic. They hear him not. He wished to make a rampart against their attacks with his body extended on the earth; they trample him under foot. His colleagues lift him up half dead, overwhelmed and penetrated with grief. The seditious spread themselves over the outer court of the convention. The guards force them to retire; they return to the charge with additional fury. Auguis and Ferraud, at the head of a numerous troop, repel the agents of crime on all sides; but the mob without increased every moment in numbers and violence: *Bread, and the constitution of 1793*, was seen written on every hat, as a rallying signal. The battalions of the sections arrived, but their numbers were too few. The excess of the mischief principally arose from the defect of military order. The rebels inundate the hall of the assembly; they begin their rage with two assassinations. A citizen snatched off a hat which was sullied by the rallying signal; instantly a
shot

shot levelled him with the ground. Ferraud, darting before the musquets pointed at the president, was desirous of defending that unfortunate man; he himself was struck; he fell at the feet of the tribune; they drag him by the hair into the passage, where they completed his murder. His head cut off, and fixed on the point of a pike, was carried through the hall, stopped before the chair, and placed even under the eyes of the president. Boissy, with his head covered, with an eye of serenity, and in an attitude of the most intrepid and majestic tranquillity, beheld himself surrounded by a thousand assassins; he was made the object of their imprecations and their fury; yet, superior to all the efforts of crime, he shewed these miscreants, confounded at the sight, that it was not in their power to disturb the soul of a just man. The republic seemed annihilated; the patriots were subdued, their energies paralysed, the functionaries were without authority, the convention almost dissolved. One man at his post preserved the dignity of France. The majesty, the safety of France, rested entirely on Boissy d'Anglas.

While Ferraud's mangled body was a prey to the outrages of his assassins, and was only abandoned from the lassitude of their ferocity; while
his

his head, carried on a pike, filled the hearts of good citizens with dismay, inspired the malcontents with criminal joy, and increased their guilty hopes; a new band of rebels entered the convention as assailants. Their leader commanded silence by the beating of drums, and read, in the tribune, while surrounded with an armed force, the seditious manifesto of which we have already spoken. If the insurgents had seized that moment, their triumph would have been ensured. The courage of Boissy d'Anglas would have precipitated his death. One of the conspiring deputies had taken the chair. Those who surrounded Boissy were incessantly urging him to sign their motions, saying to him, *Sign, or I will kill you.* "Life is of little importance to me," replied Boissy; "but you wish me to commit a great crime. I am a representative of the people, and president of the convention; I shall be faithful to my duty." Persisting thus in his resistance, he presented his head inclined on the desk to these cannibals. Thus Cicero, when he beheld his litter surrounded by the satellites of the triumvirs, with coolness offered his august head to the sword of the assassins; but whether the leaders of the criminals wanted boldness or presence of mind, or whether Boissy disconcerted their measures, it

it was not till nine o'clock at night that the deputy Romme proposed they should deliberate with their hats off. Immediately and rapidly succeeded propositions for restoring to freedom the deputies who had been imprisoned or sent off since the 12th and 13th Germinal (April 1 and 2), for instituting domiciliary visits, under pretence of searching for provisions, for the permanence of the sections, and the suspension or renewal of the committees of government. Republicanism and virtue had not quitted the chair. Vernier, venerable from his white hair, the ornament of an irreproachable old age, from his long labours in the constituent assembly and the convention, had claimed the right of succeeding Boissy in this alarming post; and, after reiterated attempts, had prevailed. He displayed the same attitude, the same zeal to devote himself, the same majesty. He was told, *You must either sign, or die.* Vernier made no other reply, than untying his cravat, laying it on the desk, and presenting his bare neck to the swords of the miscreants. In the mean time, the committees of government were assembled; the rebels did not even dream of dissolving them, and seizing their papers. The committees attempted the last effort of pacification. Legendre came, in their name, to request that the
good

good citizens would retire. He was interrupted by horrible outcries. The die at last was cast; force alone could be of service. The rebels began then to perceive, but it was too late, the importance of the opportunity they had let slip, and that there are moments which can never be recalled; they ordered the arrest of the members of the committees. Duquesnoi, Bourbotte, Duroi, and Prieur de la Marne, ferocious proconsuls of the ancient government, were judged most worthy of being intrusted with this infamous office. They accepted it with joy, and swore to execute it, or perish; but the moment of their power was passed. The close of the day had recalled numbers of the factious to their homes; the intoxication had been dissipated by degrees, and had given way to excess of fatigue; the thirst of blood and the avidity of crime alone remained in full force. The arrest of the committees was only a prelude to the blow they meditated. At midnight they proposed putting out of the protection of the law all who were not of the party, that is to say, of the Mountain. It was some minutes past half after eleven when their four commissioners were arrested by the battalion of Lepelletier. The contest lasted scarcely a moment: the pale satellites of crime fled on all sides. The avenues and tribunes

bunes of the senate were at length delivered from those monsters. The convention recovered its liberty and its dignity; the deliberations recommenced with striking calmness; a decree of arrest was passed against fourteen deputies. Thus passed these terrible moments, so short, and yet so memorable.

The next day, intelligence was brought, about noon, that the battalions of the *Faubourg St. Antoine* were marching to the convention. It was announced to the assembly that these men wished, in order to spare the effusion of blood, that a deputation of its members should be sent to them. A summons to a town on the eve of being carried by assault is not couched in stronger terms. Six commissioners were appointed; and the convention decreed that, on the 25th *Prairial* (June 13), the fundamental laws of the constitution of 1793 should be presented to them. The commissioners, on their return, declared, that the decree corresponded with the inclinations of the insurgents; a deputation from them was announced, and admitted. The speaker demanded bread, the constitution of 1793, and the liberation of the patriots imprisoned since the 9th Thermidor. The president replied in a manner calculated to calm their

their minds, and the petitioners were admitted to the honours of the sitting. They trode on the same ground which the evening before they had stained with the blood of the regretted Ferraud, and received the fraternal embrace amidst the applauses of the senate. The tribunes knew better than the convention what was conformable to its dignity; their murmurs of disapprobation burst forth during the disgraceful embrace; and thy shade, O Ferraud! must have shuddered at the sight. Undoubtedly, also, those men who had brought the olive of peace, those ministers of the allied nations, who, on the preceding evening, had merited marks of approbation and gratitude from the senate, for not having quitted them when exposed to a common danger, declaring *that they would share the fate of the convention*, they were present at this degrading scene. Did they on the 2d *Prairial* (May 21st) recollect these very men, this identical senate? It is true that the senate was afraid of arming the inhabitants of the same city against each other; but the honours of the sitting would have sufficed, and the embrace was going too far. The 4th *Prairial* (May 23) has, at least, proved the necessity of acting with great vigour. On the 3d (May 22) the criminal tribunal had condemned to death a man convicted of having carried on a pike the head of

the representative Ferraud. The accomplices of the assassin rescued him at the scaffold, and led him in triumph to the *Faubourg St. Antoine*. Such excess must have a conclusion. A numerous body of young men * presented themselves that same evening to the committees of government, demanded arms, a leader, and the honourable permission of marching the first to the reduction of the rebel *Faubourg*. Their generous offer was accepted. A stronger military force was at the same time collected, and the convention decreed that the three sections of the *Faubourg* should be immediately summoned to deliver up their cannon, and the destroyers of the national representation; in case of refusal, the armed force were to pursue the rebels to destruction. These men turned pale at the sight of the menacing appearance that awaited them; they surrendered their cannon, and delivered up all the known criminals who had not escaped by flight. The convention ordered the rebels to be entirely disarmed. A calm was restored, and terror reigned only in the breasts of the guilty. The convention also ordered all the terrorists throughout the republic to be disarmed. Information

* Subsequent events proved that these young men were dangerous auxiliaries; they marched against the *Faubourg St. Antoine* solely from a hatred of the *sans culottes*.

was received that Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes had embarked for Guyane. The convention commanded Barrère to be brought before the criminal tribunal of *La Charente Inférieure*. Pache, Bourbotte, and the other great criminals, were also sent to the tribunals. The arrest of 20 deputies was decreed. Satisfactory intelligence from the armies consoled the good citizens. Success in the Pyrenees and the Alps had followed a still more considerable success, the capture of Luxembourg, and a short time after that of Manheim.

Entangled in a train of events, we have not yet been able to give an account of the trial of Fouquier Tinville, the cannibal public accuser. After a long process, he lost his head on the same scaffold which he had dyed with the blood of so many victims. Our ancestors held it as an axiom, that it is better to save a hundred guilty, than to sacrifice one innocent man; this monster's maxim was, that it was better to slaughter a thousand innocent persons, than to suffer one guilty man to escape. It is well known what he meant by guilty men.

We ought also to notice the death of the son of Louis XVI. He died on the 20th Floreal of the
3d year

3d year (April 30, 1794). There remains now, that we may not be under the necessity of recurring to the period, some important reflections to be made on one of the principal means of defence employed by Barrère, Billaud, Collot, and Vadier; they attempted to throw all the blame of their offences on Robespierre and the other decemvirs. Sometimes they said, that they signed warrants of arrest from the confidence they had in the tyrant; at others they asserted, that they watched in silence the steps of the tyrant, in order to unmask him in the end. But if they had not been really his accomplices, would it not have been easy for them to have counteracted the attempts of three miscreants? Acquainted as they were with their execrable tyranny, they deserved death for not having denounced the tyrants. All who are concerned in the direction of affairs in times of oppression, are guilty either as principals or accomplices. The man who is invested with great authority, either combats or shares the tyranny, unmasks or palliates it, suppresses or favours it; there is no middle path.

Nothing is more curious or instructive in history, than the comparison of similar events which take place in ages separated by an immense in-

terval of time. An abridgement of an eloquent speech delivered before the Athenians, 2396 years since, by Lyfias, and directed against the 30 tyrants of Athens, has just been re-printed. This oration mentions a number of facts, which resemble so nearly those which we have witnessed, that those readers who are not much acquainted with the Grecian history, will scarcely believe that it is an oration of antiquity. It will be there seen, that Theramenes, the Robespierre of Athens, had the same principles, made the same speeches, and employed the same means. He had his Jacobins, who were called *associates*. Then, also, riches were evidence of guilt; and men, whose ruin they wished, were objects of suspicion; then, as now, the accomplices of Theramenes sought to exculpate themselves by throwing the whole blame of their crimes on him.

BOOK XXIX.

New Terrorists or Assassins.—The Societies of Jesus and of the Sun.—Green Cravats and black Collars.—Disturbances on account of the two Songs or Hymns, the Marseillois Hymn and le Reveil du Peuple.—The new Calendar.—Change proposed in it by the Author of this History.—The new Constitution.—Sketch of the Labours of the Convention in the Formation of it.—View of the public Mind, of the actual Situation of France, of the Decrees relative to the Two-thirds, and of the Arts and Sciences.—Measures of public Safety proposed by the Author.—General Notion of the principal Objects of a Legislator's Attention.—Events of the 13th and 14th Vendemiaire (October 4 and 5).—Reflections on our Revolution.—The latter Decrees of the Convention.—Plan and State of the Finances.—Digression on what has been called the Revolution of Brabant.—A general Amnesty decreed by the Convention.—Exceptions to this Amnesty.—The Convention declares that its Session is terminated, and forms itself an electoral

electoral Body, under the Presidency of the oldest of its Members.

By what fatal destiny is it that the vessel of the revolution, already assailed on all sides, is incessantly exposed to fresh tempests? It would appear that after the event of Germinal and Prairial, (March, April, and May,) after disarming the *Faubourg St. Antoine*, so prone to error, and the ancient terrorists; after the arrest of the greater number of the most criminal deputies; in short, at the moment when the scaffolds of terror were overthrown, when the dictatorial bastilles and the den of the Jacobins were shut, the historian of the revolution would be no longer condemned to lead his reader from storm to storm, from plot to plot; especially after the convention had decreed the trials of all those men, who, by their sanguinary provocations, by their conduct really terrorist, proved that they were accomplices or agents of the tyranny; but the passions of men admit no bounds to their gratification. The agitators, in like manner, set no limits to their criminal hopes. France, at this period, was wavering between royalism and anarchy. The actions of the oppressors who overwhelmed France in the time of Robespierre, were so bloody and so terrible,

terrible, as to eclipse the history of the most barbarous nations; the re-actions were no less violent; bands of royalist assassins were collected in the west, in the south, and in the north; societies were formed, calling themselves societies of Jesus and of the Sun, who proclaimed and committed a prodigious number of murders even on those victims who were already under the sword of the law. These new terrorists or furorists, for they have been also called by this name, equalled, if not surpassed the former, in crime and audacity. Their enormities, their barbarous vengeance, were such, that the then re-actors almost inclined the public to absolve Robespierre, if any thing could rescue that monster's name from infamy. Thus terror only changed hands, and did not cease from elevating her bloody sceptre, and from exhibiting every where the spectre of her colossal and hideous figure. Every thing served for a pretext, every thing became a rallying signal for the murderers of all parties, for the anarchists as well as the royalists. At Paris the convention had ordered the national institution of music to perform several patriotic airs at the feast which was soon to take place in celebration of the anniversary of the 10th of August. Some young men, for the most part royalists, but amongst whom there were some Jacobins and

anarchists, came to the committees of government, and insolently demanded that they should sing and play only the *Reveil du peuple*, which in reality was only calculated to awaken royalism. This commotion was soon appeased. Green cravats, black collars, and the hair in ringlets, was a dress particularly affected by the royalists. Fatal contests ensued from it in many places, and particularly at Lyons. It would have been better, perhaps, to have overlooked every particularity of dress. To give any attention to it was to make it of importance. If any particular dress be prohibited, discontent will be active in the invention of new ones for the police again to interdict. The committee of general safety took the wise course of prohibiting the disturbance of any one on account of his dress. It does not appear that this fresh fermentation of discord will have any formidable effects, since the ancient system of terror is entirely overthrown, and these new terrorists, these assassins, and the Societies of Jesus and the Sun, already engage all the attention and severity of the government; its energy and vigour can alone prevent fresh explosions. The convention hastened to present a new constitution and mode of government to the people for their sanction.

Before

Before we proceed to this 10th revolution, we must give an account of some decrees which we have not yet mentioned, from a fear of interrupting the thread of the narration.

It was decreed that the French æra should, for the future, begin from the foundation of the republic, the 22d of September 1792. Every year is to commence at midnight of the day on which the true autumnal equinox falls, according to the observations made at the observatory at Paris. The year is divided into 12 months of 30 days each. At the expiration of the 12 months follow five days to complete the ordinary year; these five days belong to none of the months. At first they were called *sans culletides*; but this ridiculous appellation was abolished by a decree in the month of Fructidor 1795, (August and September,) and these days have since been called supplementary days.

Fabre d'Eglantines made a very interesting report on this subject, upon which the new reform of the calendar was decreed on the second month of the second year of the republic (October 1793). I think, however, that it would have been better not to have made our revolution an epoch, and that the calculation which the

sun's path points out should have been preferred for this reformation. The year being a natural revolution, its commencement should be fixed by some known law of Nature, and not depend on events which do not result from any of her operations. If this principle be neglected, of what importance is the uniformity of principles which it is so much wished to establish among all nations? Each would, undoubtedly, be desirous of dating from its own revolution; moreover, as there is no age which does not afford new events, even in the same nation; as there is no age which has not some pretensions to form an epoch for the ensuing year; what, if this be granted, is the most natural period from which to date the beginning of the year? If we consider only the path of the sun, it is obvious that the first step of his progress towards us, is at the solstice of Capricorn; that is the point where this luminary, being at the lowest degree of his orbit, begins to re-approach our hemisphere. But the admission of this principle alone, to fix the commencement of the year, would introduce on the earth a multiplicity of different epochs, according to the various situations of the zones. This principle is not then the only one which ought to be consulted. There are two very remarkable points in the annual orbit

bit of the sun, *viz.* the two equinoctial points. Every advantage is united in these, and no others possess the same; there alone is the sun seen at the same time by all the earth; there only are the days and nights of equal length to the whole globe; there only is the earth divided into two equal parts by the diurnal motion of the sun. But if the effects of the sun are the same in these two points when he arrives at them, the effects are directly contrary on the two hemispheres as he departs; so that the law of Nature seems to require that there should be two epochs for the commencement of the year, the equinox of Aries for the northern hemisphere, and the equinox of Libra for the southern hemisphere*.

I cannot avoid saying, that the point in which the eye of the world abandons us, when vegetation ceases, when nature seems to sleep, when every thing appears at an end, is not the natural instant for the commencement of our year. What motives of preference are there for the equinox of Aries! the conformity of this epoch with astronomical calculations, the progress of the sun and awakening of nature, every thing seems to point it out as a law. At that point for our hemisphere, the light of the world opens

* That is the vernal equinox in each hemisphere.

the most beautiful season. He is seen to advance in all the brilliancy of his splendor towards our zenith, reviving every thing, regenerating every thing, and shedding fecundation every where. The earth resumes her verdure, vegetables again rear their head, animals begin to be reproduced; every thing receives a soul, a new life, a new creation.

I add to these reflections, that the reform here proposed would be much more generally adopted than the epoch of our republican æra, which is only interesting to ourselves. Our revolution does not require these denominations to ensure immortality; the denominations will pass away, but her glory will not pass away.

The convention abolished capital punishments, with a few exceptions; but they thought it necessary to decree, that this beneficent law should not take place till the re-establishment of peace. The execution of this law is become a matter of greater urgency, inasmuch as one of the greatest crimes of the decemvirs was, not only to have completely destroyed the morals of a people already corrupt, but to have accustomed the rising generation to the sight of blood. We have seen its effusion applauded by the people,
and

and the ferocious saying of Bernave, *Is this blood so pure that it deserves regret?* repeated by them, while they imputed the crime of aristocracy to the bleeding victims. No man can, however, be guilty unless legally convicted, and we but too well know that the sentences of those times were nothing but assassinations.

The convention decreed also the benevolent law of divorce; but the faction which then ruled, sowed in it the seeds of great immorality. The convention of the 9th Thermidor, (if we may be pardoned this expression,) suspended the operation of this law, to the means of putting which in force sufficient attention had not been given.

The convention at length arrived at the period of gratifying the national wishes, by presenting to the nation for its sanction a constitution, free and republican, but not inclining to anarchy, popular but not favourable to popular tumult. It was accepted, because the nation were eager for good laws, for peace and happiness, because it was tired of revolutionizing and being revolutionized. This constitution is perhaps the least imperfect in its kind of any
that

that has yet appeared. The police which it has established is infinitely stricter than in any other constitution: All the enlightened men admire that part of it which treats of legislation; but the executive directory has not, according to the opinion of the best judges, sufficient strength, nor interest enough in the rigorous execution of the laws. It is not, if I may be allowed the expression, enough the *man* of the revolution. Every man is not an Aristides, solely inflamed by a pure love of his country; a motive for emulation is requisite; ambition should above all be stimulated; a prospect of glory should at least be held out. It has been advanced in several political writings, that a single president, even if removeable every year, would be dangerous at a time when the republic is not yet well consolidated, and that the best intentions would be frustrated, because a people recently restored to freedom, is necessarily jealous of its liberty, as a lover is of his mistress, and apt to suspect even the best designs. I also idolize liberty and the republic, and it is because I love it, that, after having weighed all the arguments on one side and the other, I am entirely of their opinion, who wish an executive power more vigorous, more impressive, and more interested in public affairs, a president removeable at most every five

five years, and re-eligible after a certain interval. I should have wished that this president had a *veto* of five days; and that he had a right to assist at the deliberations of the council of 500. Réal, a writer of distinguished merit has made the following observations on this subject. "The
" executive power is eclipsed by the splendor
" which surrounds the council of ancients; and
" before the colossal dimensions given to this
" branch of the legislature, the executive government displays a littleness, an insignificance, a nullity almost, which deprives them
" of the importance and of the emulation
" which are never more necessary than in these
" times of anarchy, and which the guards allowed them do not confer. Reduced, as in
" the constitution of 1793, to the insignificance
" of first clerks, exposed to the storms of the
" 500, existing only under the protection of the
" ancients, the five members of the directory,
" forgotten like the five ministers supplanted by
" the committee of public safety, will be lost
" without the least mention being made of them
" during their existence, without a thought being
" bestowed on them when they shall be no more,
" and what is still more melancholy, without the
" power of doing good. How is it possible for
" them to restrain the passions, the jealousies,
" and

“ and the factions which subsist among a people,
“ fiery, impetuous, fierce, in their new existence
“ and their liberty, yet in the paroxysms of the
“ fever of the most astonishing as well as the
“ most terrible revolution?”

The time is arrived to take a scrutinizing survey of the labours of the convention. It is but too true, that from the 2d of Sept. till the 9th Thermidor, there was no republic, and it was with justice decreed, that there was tyranny in the government. The convention of the 9th Thermidor sought to wash away this stain by the manner in which it not only subverted the tyranny and the tyrants, but by a reparation, as far as lay in its power, of all the evil which had been done. This assembly afterwards displayed as much grandeur and magnanimity, as it had cowardice and debasement in the time of Robespierre. It above all developed a profound policy, when it inserted as an article of the constitution, that the legislative body should be renewed only as to one third; this measure disconcerted every plot. It has seen without fear the poniards of assassins lifted against it since the 9th Thermidor; and called to our recollection in the month of Germinal and Prairial, those venerable senators of Rome, who, tranquilly seated in the curule chairs,

met the approach of the Gauls and of death with a serene aspect. Before the 9th Thermidor it presented to view, the unequal contest of vice with virtue. Since that epoch it has afforded the spectacle of virtue subduing crime, and the still more enchanting spectacle of virtue seeking to repair the evils perpetrated by vice. We shall soon see that its zeal and solicitude to alleviate the situation of the victims of tyranny, caused great disasters and hazarded the ruin of the state; but the intention was pure, at least on the part of the mass of the convention. Notwithstanding the serious imprudence committed in liberating all the victims of the reign of blood, without making any distinction between the criminal and dangerous men, and those who were innocent, the convention did not appear the less worthy of founding the republic, especially when it erected it on the basis of a constitution presented to the people for their sanction. This constitution at least excludes those virulent and corrosive seeds of anarchy, which the preceding constitutions contained.

But did the convention of the 9th Thermidor do all that it ought, all that it could have done? No, certainly; it suppressed the revolutionary tribunal, commissions and committees, as well

as

as the *Neronian* laws of the 13th Germinal (March 3d), and of the 22d Prairial (June 10th), and other sanguinary laws passed under the reign of Robespierre. It suppressed also the last military committee; but have we not had since institutions similar to those horrible laws? Has it not to reproach itself with those special juries established subsequently to the period of the 9th Thermidor? Have we not seen persons acquitted by the juries, and again brought to trial for the same offence? The convention at last has reformed all these abuses; but has encouraged others perhaps still more terrible. It is a duty the more incumbent on us to develop in this place, the fatal consequences which resulted, because they will long influence the destiny of the republic. It is evident that I allude to the liberation of the prisoners with whom Robespierre and his agents had loaded the jails, which was ordered too universally and with too little precaution. It was undoubtedly right, it was just, it was worthy of the convention to dry up the tears of those unfortunate persons, whom the 9th Thermidor had rescued from the axe of the dictators; but measures should have been adopted to prevent the re-action which it was impossible not to foresee would happen. It was in consequence of this conduct, that aristocracy, fanaticism,

fanaticism, and royalism once more reared their audacious heads: Then it was, that the societies of Jesus and of the Sun, of which we have spoken, were organized; there is no writer capable of adequately delineating the cannibalism and cold-blooded atrocity of these societies. Those captives, and especially the priests, corrupted the minds of the departments; then the value of the *Assignat* fell to nothing in most of the departments; and the places were bestowed on the most determined royalists. The released prisoners were put on the juries in a great variety of districts; and all the ancient terrorists, all the true revolutionists, whom great care must be taken not to confound with the former, innocent and guilty, had their most bitter enemies for their judges. These numerous releases, ordered after the 9th Thermidor by the convention, without any degree of foresight for the public good, poured into the bosom of the body politic torrents of individuals, breathing nought but vengeance. The nonjuring priests, become interesting from persecution, appeared to the people and the inhabitants of the country places in the light of martyrs. These priests profited of that ascendant to kindle the flames of fanaticism. A long time after the period of which

we are speaking, the convention decreed, on the 6th Vendemiaire, (Sept. 27,) a law respecting the public worship; but the mischief was done, and had taken deep root. Could they ever persuade themselves that this law would be well enforced? We shall see in the sequel whether the executive directory has been more fortunate in this respect. In a word, Robespierre stretched the revolutionary bow too far, the convention of the 9th Thermidor relaxed it too much. This error gave a most fatal ascendant to the aristocracy and the royalists, who under the mask of indulgence, and professing themselves enemies to blood and terror, like tigers who could roar out the word humanity, gave a free vent to their rage and their revenge, not only against the ancient terrorists, but against the true revolutionists, the irreproachable republicans, whom they called Robespierrists or Terrorists, for the purpose of confounding them with such men. Thus before the 9th Thermidor, counter-revolutionists and anarchists mingled with the true patriots, for the purpose of leading them on from one excess to another, and to bring them back to despotism; since that day, false indulgence has been the promoter of a cruelty, often more atrocious than that of the ancient terrorists.

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The convention has since wished, at the epoch of the famous decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, (Aug. 22 and 30,) again to bend the revolutionary bow; it went even so far as to decree the banishment of the refractory priests. In spite of their incorrigible dispositions, and whatever prejudice may feel against those preachers of fanaticism, I think it would have been more politic, and certainly more just, to have been contented with a rigorous enforcement of the severe police established by the convention itself with regard to the public worship: at least this expedient should have been tried before they had recourse to measures of greater severity. Persecution makes proselytes, and gives fresh food to fanaticism. I think also that the convention, although humanity and probably the safety of the state were its motives, hazarded the dignity and majesty of the republic, by treating with the chiefs of *La Vendée*, with rebels, as with an independent power; it ought besides to have foreseen the inutility of this reconciliation with those whom they called *our misled brothers of La Vendée*. The convention, or rather the committee of government, committed another great fault in politics, when they failed to bring to Paris the leaders of the robbers whom they had arrested for having broken the treaty of peace;

they were entrusted to unsafe hands, who released the greater number of them.

The convention, forced by its enemies to have recourse to rigorous measures, which must be carefully distinguished from those which, under Robespierre, were called *measures of terror*, was desirous of repairing its weakness and indulgence already become fatal to the republic ; it again became a *Mountain*, without having any thing in common with the ancient Mountain ; that is to say, it displayed revolutionary energy, without being sullied by crimes ; but an expiring assembly, an assembly in which divisions prevailed, on account of the decrees of the two-thirds, could only apply a feeble remedy to so many disorders, and, above all, to the degeneracy of the public mind. It has also to reproach itself with not having adopted any strong measures for the finances, which the circumstances of the times so imperiously called for, and which have been since proposed and adopted during the sitting of the legislative body. The colonial committee did not make a report, which the convention ought to have exacted ; and this important branch of the public prosperity was abandoned to the mercy of events. The convention

vention passed a law which fixed a war-tax; this law was at once impolitic, and badly framed. We shall see, in the sequel, that they substituted in its room a forced loan, an impost better conceived, but arbitrarily divided. It has been said, that there is no system so absurd, which cannot find a philosopher ready to adopt it; one may also say, with equal reason, that there is no political error of which a numerous body may not be guilty. Such was the decree which gave a mortal wound to the *assignat*. By that decree, the trade in gold and silver coin was authorized; from that moment, the ruinous system of stock-jobbing began its disastrous speculation. The price of necessaries was augmented to a pitch which posterity will scarcely credit. A pair of shoes was sold for 2400 *livres*; a hat for 3500; a pound of bread for 80*. Another grand error of the committees of government with regard to the people, was the announcing, without intermission, and at different periods, the assurance of even the most sudden increase of bread, when they had not the smallest expectation of realising those hopes. Another reproach with which they have to charge themselves is, that no assembly

* These almost incredible sums were paid in assignats. 100l. for a pair of shoes; 145l. 16s. 8d. for a hat; and 3l. 6s. 8d. for a pound of bread.

ever reversed and passed again so many of its own decrees. There is nothing more fatal than so much versatility in a legislature. A still greater fault was the so often having made assaults on the liberty of the press, and the sacred right of petitioning. We have seen petitioners dragged from the bar to prison. The following picture of the convention is drawn by Réal. "What Tacitus," says he, "could give us the history of its great actions, and of its excesses? "Obscure men, delegated to make laws, during "a dictatorship of three years, displayed an "energy, a grandeur, a ferocity, which was "not surpassed by the virtues of ancient Rome, "nor the fury of the first Cæsars. Physicians, "advocates, attornies, start at once into legislators of great conceptions, and warriors of "immense boldness: they shook Europe to the "centre, and entirely changed her system; "they conceived and executed the plan of that "campaign of 1793, which will be the eternal "admiration of professional men. With a courageous hand they signed the death-warrant "of the successor of a hundred kings; and on "that day alone was the sceptre, to which fourteen centuries had conciliated a religious and "fanatical veneration, broken to pieces. On "that day, they threw out a challenge to as-
"frighted

“frighted Europe; and William the Conqueror,
“when he burned his vessels, did not place him-
“self with more courage between victory and
“death. Without money or credit, without
“arms or artillery, without salt-petre, without
“armies; betrayed by Dumouriez; Valenciennes
“in the hands of the Austrians; Toulon sur-
“rendered to the English; Lyons in revolt;
“the king of Prussia at the gates of Landau;
“and 150,000 Vendéans over-running ninety
“leagues of country; they passed a decree at
“this moment, and France became a vast ma-
“gazine of arms and of salt-petre; she was
“covered with bayonets, and 1,400,000 men
“rose up in arms. Hymns and the march of
“assault foiled the German tactics. This ter-
“rible convention would have ravaged the
“whole world, but she exhausted her devouring
“energy; two parties, alternately conquering
“and conquered, were each in their turns hur-
“ried to the guillotine.”

Let us resume the narrative we began of
the labours of the convention; it promised a
clear and precise law on the liberty of the press;
but it terminated its session without ordaining
any thing on that subject. The legislative body
also employed itself, as we shall see hereafter,

upon that question, from which three legislatures had receded with apprehension. When we arrive at that period, we shall report the best observations which were made on that delicate topic.

On the motion of Gregoire, the convention decreed different habits for the different public functionaries. The dress of the legislative body reminds us of the Roman toga; it is impossible to disapprove of this decree. Such is human infirmity, that dress has great influence on the minds both of governors and the governed: Is it not to the splendour or singularity of the dress of the priests that they have been indebted, in all ages, and in all nations, for their unbounded empire, and that prevailing influence which has made them so formidable?

The two greatest errors which can be laid to the charge of the convention are, without doubt, their enduring the long and sanguinary domination of the decemvirs, and their making, after the 9th Thermidor, a too retrograde and almost counter-revolutionary movement; by enlarging all the prisoners without distinction, and without precaution, permitting the trade in gold and silver, and suffering the exchange, that hot-bed

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of stock jobbing, to be opened. Truth requires of the historian to confess, that Fréron, and some other deputies, at that time influenced the convention, as Robespierre had previously done, and as Mirabeau did the constituent assembly. How weak and contemptible is human nature ! How often do numerous errors excite the indignation, and how much oftener the pity of the philosopher ! We have seen the people and the convention, which was not then much elevated above the people, patiently suffer the domination of a Marat and of a Robespierre, and that effusion of human blood, those revolutionary enormities, or at least enormities that were so called, from the description of which Tacitus himself, so accustomed to delineate the court of Nero, would have recoiled with affright. If Cæsar enslaved Rome and her senate, he was at least worthy of command ; but to be governed by a Robespierre and a Marat is the height of disgrace and weakness. We have seen the people and the convention deifying Marat and Mirabeau, and then dragging them ignominiously through the dust. It must also be acknowledged, that the convention never displayed any thing but the triumph of one faction over another ; and that its operations were oftener the result of passion than of profound reflection,
inspired

inspired only by the love of its country. It is a singular good fortune, that the contests of so many factions have hitherto terminated to the advantage of the people. The reason is, that it was always necessary for one part to gain the people over to its side, and present to the mass of the convention motives of public good, in order effectually to overcome another. The mass of a numerous body are generally pure, and desirous of acting justly; the leaders alone are guilty of all the wrong measures, into which they lead the members of an assembly, who follow like a flock of sheep. It is seen that I am far from wishing to flatter the convention; I have palliated none of its faults; it will not, however, the less obtain the admiration and esteem of future ages: how many faults are repaired by the glory of having proclaimed and founded the republic! Are we not disposed to pardon the errors of the convention, when we call to mind the immortal days of Thermidor, Germinal, and Prairial? Has it not merited the eternal gratitude of the people by the constitution of 1795? The people, especially at Paris, have always been ready to listen to the voice of agitators, and the enemies of the convention. The labouring men, easily deceived by the insinuations of the priests, and swayed by

by egotism and cupidity, impeded greatly the operations of the convention, and more particularly by depreciating the paper money; this proves that every thing must be done for the people, and without their interference, except, indeed, the sanction of a constitution; this sanction or acceptance, as well as the choice of representatives, is absolutely their province. This also clearly shews the obstacles which the convention had to surmount. From the time of Dumouriez's treachery, until the massacres commanded by the decemvirs, from the 31st of May to the 13th Vendemiaire (October 4), no body of men has ever experienced such violent conflicts, such terrible re-actions, such revolutionary storms and commotions, or rather such frequent counter-revolutions. Réal has certainly drawn too black a portrait of that assembly; and though it was sometimes feeble and degraded, and sometimes violent and furious, yet it was still more frequently grand, august, and sublime; it is more worthy of our eulogiums, and of the tribute of our admiration, than of too severe censure.

We must here describe the situation of France at the period when the national assembly was on the point of terminating its session. The republic

lic then exhibited herself in an attitude as striking without, as it was afflicting within; in no nation has an example been seen of a situation so distressing, of a people driven about in so many contrary directions, harassed by so many factions, torn by so many conflicts, agitated by so many convulsions, or tormented by so many political storms; and never has any nation displayed greater confidence in her rulers, a more perfect resignation in the midst of privations and sufferings, a magnanimity more constant, or a firmness more unshaken. Holland, Switzerland, and North America, gained their liberty at the expence of torrents of blood; but, in those cases, two parties only were opposed to each other, the enemies and partizans of despotism. Amongst us were a hundred different species of malcontents, and, consequently, as many direct or indirect conspirators. Faction upon faction arose even among those who had united for the revolution. Hence that perfidy, those plots of every kind, which were incessantly starting up. The interests of all were attacked; the fortunes of all were shaken; the *assignat* had no longer any common measure with the precious metals; the incredible dearness of all the necessities of life caused a famine in the midst of plenty. New divisions, new storms, after six years

years of political torture, still threatened to wreck the vessel of the state; yet the people were calm; and our legions seemed to throw into the shade, by the splendour of their victories, that futurity of sufferings and of misery which then presented itself. It is this calmness of the people which has always driven their enemies to despair. By what fate was it, that fanaticism and royalism again reared their audacious heads, at the very moment when Liege and Belgium were united to France, and added, by this incorporation, nine departments to the republic; at the moment when Holland enfranchised by an army, was about to convene a national assembly, and to become a republic in alliance with ours; in short, at the moment when Prussia and Spain had entered into bonds of alliance with us, the duration of which, the interest of those powers seemed to insure? Anarchy, which ordinarily terminates its career by devouring itself, still hovered over this vast empire. We never had such success from without; we never experienced so many dangers, so many scourges from within; this is another singularity of our revolution. We may justly say with the Poet,

“Tes plus grands ennemis, Rome, sont dans ton sein*.”

* “Thy greatest foes, O Rome, are in thy bosom.”

O immortal republic, what a harvest of glory and felicity is reserved for thee, if thou canst stifle thy divisions, and reach the harbour of safety, victorious over thy external and thy still more formidable internal enemies! Must we always dip our pen in Phlegethon? and shall we always have to describe the contests of furies, and the discord of hell? When shall we be able to give repose to our readers, and refresh our minds with the consolatory picture of the union of all minds, of all hearts, and of all desires?

We should give but an imperfect representation of the situation of the republic at this epoch, if we did not investigate the question, whether there is, at this moment, any public spirit in France; what is the character of it, or rather, what is the general opinion; we shall, at the same time, examine what are the means of reviving public spirit in France.

The word public spirit has two senses, the confusion of which is the cause of dangerous errors; it expresses, first, that which the majority of individuals think, and then it would be better termed *public* or *general opinion*; secondly, it expresses a manner of seeing, of thinking, and,

and, consequently, of acting, conformably to the principles which have been adopted, which unites a whole people by one common will. There is no instant, in which the general opinion is not composed of the individual elements; it is not so with the public spirit.

At the commencement of the revolution, enthusiasm created a sort of public spirit among us; but the fatigue arising from the revolutionary storms, the continual opposition of particular interests, the volatility of the national character, soon annihilated it. The struggle which arose on the 9th Thermidor, against the men of blood, marked by the name of terrorists or Robespierists, was calculated to revive it. Then, in fact, one sentiment united a great number of men.

This valuable public spirit is preserved only by the liberty, of which it becomes itself the rampart. Such was the unfavourable nature of circumstances, that France was able to gain liberty without the capacity of enjoying it. Thus, in the latter times of the revolution, we are without true public spirit, or if it exists, it must be confessed with sorrow, that it is in a sense retrograde to the revolution. We see with pain
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the greater part of the French renounce in conversation the most honourable title in the universe, that of *French citizen*. This word is no longer in vogue; that of *Monsieur* is preferred, because it is conformable to the ancient custom, and yet we are republicans. The Romans thought not thus, and kings envied the title of Roman citizen. As to the practice of *tutoyer* *, we are entirely of their opinion who think that the language of Racine and Voltaire, perhaps even the interest of our manners, and the expression of the softer sentiments, of the sympathetic affections of nature, require that there should be no innovation in this respect.

Two things unite men and create public spirit, an imminent danger, and a certain and considerable good. Peace, the establishment of a constitution, a stable, firm, and vigorous government, may create a true public spirit among us; national feasts, and a new education, may also be powerful means. The convention should have profited of those precious moments in which the most revered relics of our religious superstitions were every where trodden under foot, to substitute, in the room of the ancient worship,

* The use of the words thee and thou.

decadary and civic feasts, well contrived to attract and enchant the people. It is necessary, at all times, to address their senses, and especially their eyes; they not only require consolatory doctrines, but also striking ceremonies. How meagre, spiritless, insignificant, and void of greatness of genius and of invention, are the reports of Chenier and other deputies on this splendid and interesting subject! Could we not have imitated, nay even eclipsed, those national and patriotic feasts, those solemn and religious games of Delos and Olympus, of Orchomenes and Gnidus? The same thing unfortunately happened as to the public instruction. The convention was too tempestuous to occupy itself with any utility on that great object; no consequence ensued from the admirable reports of Talleyrand and Condorcet. The sublime conception of the national institute was put in execution only by the legislative body. The excellent institution of Normal schools absolutely failed; they were on a good foundation, but it was necessary that the course should have lasted, at least, for two years. The hours of instruction should have been differently divided; and it would have been a desirable object to have had public exercises, literary crowns, the rewards and

encouragement of emulation at the end of each year. Idleness must have a spur, and genius an incitement. The public instruction is so much the less to be neglected, as it is the only mode of extinguishing for ever the flames of fanaticism, and of breaking to pieces the magic talisman upon which the all-powerful usurpation and brutalising dominion of priests depends for existence.

Experience and misfortune, the two great preceptors of man, are become our legislators. May the terrible and bloody proofs which we have had of the power of priests, incline us to seize every opportunity, and employ all means for the diminution of their influence! Instruction is the most powerful, if not the only one.

There is nothing more useful, not only for the disarming of fanaticism, but for the total regeneration of a nation, and for the confirmation of its liberty, than to keep incessantly in view the light which the fine arts reflect from afar, the contests which liberty has had to encounter, her triumphs, and the hope of transmitting her to posterity. It is interesting for our nation to bring to recollection the sublime examples of antiquity, and of some modern nations, and to magnetize

magnetize themselves, if we may so say, by means of these admirable models. This is the only way in which we can elevate our souls to the tone of ancient magnanimity ; thus it is that man becomes great. Great models, and instruction, act on us with all the rapidity and communicative force of the electric fluid. Art, that second nature, fulfils this object, and consolidates with greater firmness than laws themselves, the reign of true liberty. The law commands, the arts persuade. We shall take a rapid survey of these consolatory arts ; we shall follow their march, and observe the progress they have made, in spite of the efforts and the axe of our Vandals, *i. e.* of Robespierre and the agents of this second Omar, and in spite of the inevitable storms of a revolution. Without doubt the renewal of their ancient alliance with liberty, will make them take a rapid flight, a sublime and majestic stride ; the petrifying mace of censure will no longer paralyse the genius of our writers ; these anti-literary critics will no longer oppose their pedantic jargon ; they will no longer strip genius of her wings of fire to give her wings of lead. The revolution, giving a new turn to the national character, will raise the arts to a height which they cannot expect to reach in a nation of slaves. Al-

ready has the greater number of our journals become real codes of public rights. Eloquence has made great progress. Mirabeau's orations, the philippic of the deputy Courtois, many other speeches and reports addressed to the convention by Talleyrand, Isnard, Vergniaud, Guadet; some papers in Freron's journal, intitled *L'Orateur du Peuple*, in which he describes the crimes of the decemvirs with a pen of fire, and Isnard's reply to Freron, present us with the most brilliant models. Many addresses from the departments, and many petitions from individuals, are written with the most glowing eloquence, and the most masculine energy. The science of politics has also advanced rapidly; the later productions of Rœderer, of Adrien Lejay, of Réal, and Vau-blanc, leave no doubt of the fact.

Our language has acquired more than it has lost. Though we have opposed those vicious innovations which tend to make the language of Racine and Boileau obsolete; though we have blamed the use of several new words, such as *insuccès*, *inréussite*, and others, which are neither necessary, more expressive, nor more harmonious, we cannot but allow that our language has been rendered more masculine, bold, and energetic. The riches of our poetry are not entirely wasted. The
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ode has almost reached the great character, the sublime flight which Pindar and Horace, and amongst us Rousseau, had given it. Lebrun has drawn from his lyre tones the most sublime; he is a better thinker, but has not so much poetic fire as Rousseau; he has written no ode comparable to Rousseau's Ode to Fortune. Lebrun ranks, not indeed with Rousseau, but immediately after him; a situation still of great eminence. A poet of genius, above all, should not contribute to the debasement of language. We call on Lebrun to eradicate some faults of this nature into which he has fallen: For example, we cannot say *ces ames de gloire effrénées*; he should change the rhyme and say, *ces ames de gloire affamées*. In another passage, Lebrun, speaking of the Pope, says, *Tyran, fourbe et sacré; fier d'un triple idole*; he meant to say *fier d'une triple couronne*. Idol can never mean crown.

Colin Harleville, Destorges, and Picard, are the only men who have supported the honours of the comic muse. Since Fabre d'Eglantines, the immortal author of *Philinte*, fell beneath the decemviral axe, we have had only comedies founded on temporary events, which have expired with the events themselves. Melpomene has almost lost her poniard and diadem. The *Othello* of

Ducis, which is nothing more than a translation, the *Virginia* of La Harpe, the *Epiceras and Nero* of Légouvé, and *Oscar* by Arnault, are the only good tragedies which have appeared in print since the revolution, and they are very far from the excellence which this species of composition requires. The *Virginia* of La Harpe is written with great purity, but it paints the storms of great passions with much less force than the *Virginia* of Leblanc. The tragedies we have cited have at least the merit of being interesting in the closet. Arnault and Légouvé afford the most brilliant expectations. Let us never forget that numerous representations prove nothing in favour of a dramatic composition. Campistron's tragedies were oftener represented than the pieces of the immortal Racine. Chenier's tragedies perfectly resemble Campistron's; his heroes have no character, his style is without colouring; no one is tempted to give his compositions a second perusal, no one has remembered or cited a single verse of his productions. See how he has failed in the character of Medicis in *Charles IX.* and in that of Timoleon, in the piece bearing that name. The *Timoleon* of La Harpe, which was so severely criticised, is read with much more interest; and La Harpe has filled the immense and prodigious career of five acts, whereas Chenier

nier has reduced his skeleton to three. When Voltaire handled the same subjects as Corneille or Crebillon, he was sure of his power, and certain of absolution from success; he was a giant contending with giants. Chenier reminds us of the battles of the pigmies; he has only shown himself to be presumptuous; the character of genius is to be incessantly soaring. See how Racine has added other more astonishing masterpieces to his first masterpieces. Observe how Voltaire adds to his elevation and grandeur, from his *Œdipus* to his *Tancred*. The more his pieces are read, the stronger is the desire to read them again. This is the touchstone which distinguishes the great writer from the meagre versifier, without enthusiasm, without imagery, and without fire.

Great talents yet remain in the nation; they have escaped the iron hand of the dictators, and have had the felicity of being esteemed innocent, notwithstanding their reputation. We shall name among the poets who are of great promise, Desforges, the author of a poem, intitled *les Transjeverains*, and of an *Essay on Italy*; and Chauvin, whose manner in satire approaches to that of Gilbert, the only satirist who has been read since Boileau and Voltaire, a name which must be

mentioned in every species of composition. We shall also name Trouvé, the author of a beautiful ode on the battle of Fleurus, and of a tragedy, intitled *Pausanias*, which has had great success, but has not yet been printed. We must be careful not to forget Andrieux, a poet full of genius and taste; Delille, whom his translation of the *Georgics* has immortalized; Marmontel, Beaumarchais, Nivernois, Berenger, and Fontanes; we believe that Boufflers, who was with the *ci-devant* prince of Condé, Bernis, and Berquin, are dead. We do not know whether Leonard is living.

If we turn from poetry to history, we have not undoubtedly any work of great eminence to mention which has appeared since the revolution; but the great events in which we have been actors, or of which we have been witnesses, have left so deep an impression, that a number of Tacituses will soon arise to delineate these days of blood, these times of putridity and corruption; and who will throw, like him, a horrible light on the profound darkness of the cadaverous souls of our tyrants, who will display them in their hideous nudity, and will engrave them on the minds of posterity with an indelible impression.

Garat is as profoundly skilled in metaphysics and logic as Condillac. Garat has shown himself well qualified for the office of an historian. Delille de Salles has published an excellent work on the Philosophy of Nature. As to what are termed the abstruser sciences, especially the mathematics, natural philosophy and mechanics, they can only reach the summit of perfection through the labours of Lagrange and Monge. We must not forget the geometrician Laplace, author of a very profound work which has just appeared, intitled *Exposition du systeme du monde*. Astronomy may expect every thing from the labours of Lalande and Messier; in natural history we have Bernardin St. Pierre; in mineralogy, Sage and Faujas; in chymistry, Hassenfraitz, Lamarque, Fourcroy, and Bertholet. The unfortunate Lavoisier would have raised the science of chymistry to the highest pitch of perfection, if he had not fallen a victim to the decemvirs or their infamous accomplices. Finally anatomy and zoology will have their range extended by the labours and deep researches of Daubenton and Lacépède.

Vien is a painter of great merit. David has painted two pictures worthy of the best masters: *his oath of the Horatii*, and his *Brutus*. We think

think that he has failed in his picture of *Lepelletier* and of the hideous *Marat*, of that man who perspired crime from every pore, and who would have surpassed even Robespierre, Couthon, and Billaud Varennes in cruelty, if he had lived. Danton was perhaps as atrocious in cruelty as Marat; let his sanguinary actions at the district of the Cordeliers, at the *commune* and at the convention be called to mind. When he was minister of justice, he sent a circular letter to invite the departments to imitate the massacres of September. Petion also was concerned in those butcheries in which tigers drank the blood of innocent and defenceless men. See by what ferocious madmen we were governed; Marat's name forced on our recollection the idea of all these monsters in spite of ourselves.

Let us return to the consolatory picture of the progress of the fine arts; we are acquainted with no monument of sculpture or architecture since the revolution, which is worthy of fixing the attention of posterity; but we have a Houdon. It is not the same with our music; this enchanting art is carried to as high a pitch by Mehul, Lefueur, Cherubini, and Gretri, as it was by Gluk, Pichini, and Sacchini; Philidor, the

the composer of the beautiful music set to the *carmen seculare* of Horace, died in London.

Our great theatres have preserved superior talents and artists, whose diction is pure, and whose sensibility and energy leave scarcely any thing to be desired. We hope that the legislative body, and the executive directory will seek for the means of giving to the French stage all the pomp, the majesty, and the influence which the Grecian possessed. It is to be presumed that, if the convention had not been diverted from this great object by the revolutionary storms, by which it has been incessantly agitated, it would have complied with the wishes of enlightened men, who know what a powerful influence, which it is necessary to turn to the public advantage, the dramatic art has on the minds of the people.

The conquest gained by works of genius, is a glorious conquest. Louis XIV. attracted to his dominions learned men from all parts of Europe. Francis I. had set him the example. The convention has just acquired at least several masterpieces, if it has not great artists. The first conquest of Belgium was ruinous and ridiculous ; it absorbed our treasure, and the flower
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of our armies, and nothing compensated the republic for her losses; the masterpieces of art still remained there; a second conquest was necessary for the purpose of transferring them to their true country, a second conquest undertaken on other motives, and prosecuted with a different spirit, that is to say, without treachery and for the interest of the republic. We think it an error in politics to wish to unite that country with France; we believe that it would have been better to have treated it, like Holland, as a conquered country. For the strongest reasons we approve of the seizure of the works of genius as a compensation for the national losses. Paris ought to be the metropolis of the arts, it ought in the sequel to display with equal pride the productions of native French artists, and those which French valour has acquired. A great number of the paintings of Rubens and Vanduyck have been the fruits of that conquest. Buonaparte has also laid Italy, the country of the arts, under contribution.

Science had made great progress when several methods of writing as quick as speech were discovered; but a much more important discovery is that of the art of writing and printing in one language, so as to be understood in every other language

language without translation; this art which is entirely new, is not limited to the utility of tachigraphy and stenography, or writing in abridgment and with expedition. The *pasigraphy*, the name given to the new art of which we are speaking, compounded of two Greek words *πας*, to all, and *γραφω* I write, will express not only the sounds of a known language, but the sense of the words of every other language, even of those which have not been learned. The elements consist of 12 characters, which are neither like, nor are substituted for the old alphabet, and in 12 general rules which admit of no exception. A Frenchman and an Englishman, knowing only their maternal language, will each read and understand what the other has written, and conceived in his own language. The same lines will be read and understood at once in German, Italian, and Spanish, though the writer has only composed them in his own language, and does not know one word of the others. At the end of a very few hours, any intelligent man may *pasigraphize* his own language. This art requires only the concurrence of men profoundly skilled in metaphysics, and the communication of their thoughts. Citizen Sicard, the successor of the celebrated Abbé de l'Epée, who is at the head of the Institute of the dumb

dumb and deaf, was much struck with the great light thrown on his mind by this new invention; he has concurred in the essential part of the pafigraphy. This approbation on his part commands a general confidence in the discovery.

The Telegraph is another ingenious mode invented by the French for establishing the most rapid communications between the armies and the central point of the republic by signals, by whose aid, in the space of 17 minutes, an army may suddenly receive orders to march, and spread itself, in an instant, with the impetuosity of a torrent, and the rapidity of lightning, over an enemy's country; and can only be stopped by new signals.

We are indebted to a young engineer for another discovery in the arts, since the revolution. This artist by means of a new invented carriage, fires a sixteen pounder as quickly as a six pounder. At Charleroi, it was a sixteen pounder, which was planted with great boldness in front of the principal bastion, and silenced the enemy's fire, and the place surrendered. At Fleurus, a similar piece of artillery, almost miraculously transported to the head of the line, broke through and destroyed the enemy's column and decided the victory. At this same battle, they

they for the first time made use of *aéronauts* for the discovery of the enemy's motions, by means of these new *aërial* observations.

Jecker has invented a new machine for dividing, with the greatest accuracy, in imitation of Ramsden's in England, but with important additions; this is an object of great utility and of absolute necessity for the perfection of mathematical instruments; in which the artists Lenoir and Fortin have surpassed the English. We must not forget to name citizens Opoix and Carroché, already celebrated in this interesting art.

Lalande, the astronomer, has succeeded in proving the change of the Sun's place, as well as that of the planetary system. We shall pass over in silence the continual labours of the academy and the national assemblies, which have fixed and reduced to an uniform standard, weights, measures, and money. The genius of the arts has already seconded the genius of liberty by a multitude of discoveries of every species. Pelletier, the mechanic, has invented a new *air gun*, a very murderous weapon, which is loaded with the greatest quickness and facility, without dismounting, and even while on march.

They

They have succeeded in making from the horse-chestnut a farinaceous substance which makes very good starch. Old paper made and printed again becomes a second time the organ of our laws, the propagator of our arts and of our triumphs. By a process of art the alkali for making soap is extracted from the marine salt; and an immense importation is saved to us by what is discovered in our own resources. One of our mechanics has sailed up the Seine from Havre to Paris.

The republic of letters has sustained great losses. We have already spoken of the lamentable death of Fabre d'Eglantines, the author of *Philinte, ou la suite du Misanthrope*, and that of Condorcet. Posterity will not learn without sorrow, that the latter composed his interesting work intitled, *Esquisse pour servir à l'histoire des progres de l'esprit humain*, while in irons and under the axe of the executioner. This author believed, as well as Turgot, the perfectibility of human nature both in physics and in morals. This is the consolatory dream of a good man, who knows little of the world. Voltaire, who thought so correctly, has said, *the longer a man lives, the worse he thinks of human nature*. Inquire whether the information of the age has preserved us from the furies of fanaticism; examine
mine

mine whether the philanthropic writings of Voltaire and Rousseau have prevented those scenes of blood of which we have been witnesses. Let us acknowledge that the human species is contemptible. What are we to think of barbarous nations, when a polite, warlike, and enlightened nation, endured a Robespierre, deified a Marat, and committed, or suffered others to commit, the most atrocious murders?

The literary world has also lost Vandermonde the mathematician; Pingré, the astronomer and traveller; Bonnet, author of *La Contemplation de la Nature*, and of many other works replete with the subtlest metaphysics. Letters have also to regret the loss of Roucher, author of a poem on *the Months*, which abounds with poetic beauties, but has many inequalities. Roucher died by the sword of the decemvirs. There is more genius in some pages of his poems, than in whole volumes of many poets of our time, who yet enjoy an usurped reputation, while Roucher's poem is little known, and almost forgotten. That proves that there is a destiny, a fatality attending works of genius, as there is attending persons. Thus Dubelloi's plays are infinitely superior to all the dramatic productions which have appeared since Crebillon and Voltaire, and

yet his reputation is much less than he is entitled to from his real merit. The reason of this sort of fatality is, that mediocrity never wants the support of intrigue, or of admirers, while true merit rarely encounters any thing but envy and impediments*.

The revolution has devoured almost all her children, or, to speak more justly, all her defenders. The nation has to regret particularly Champfort, who has shewn himself worthy to praise Moliere; and Bailly, the elegant historian of astronomy, and the man who, during his presidency at the constituent assembly, had so well served the cause of liberty. Champfort committed suicide; Bailly fell under the axe of the executioner. Two other celebrated men caused at their death a great loss to the world of letters. Raynal, one of our most eloquent historians, and Barthelemi, author of the *Travels of Anacharsis*. This astonishing work appeared at the commencement of the revolution; it was the fruit of thirty years meditation and labour. Few works have united in the same degree the acqui-

* We shall developé this truth more fully in a work on the subject of usurped reputation. We shall demonstrate in that, that there are stolen reputations as well as ill-gained fortunes.

sitions of the most profound erudition, and the flowers of the most elegant literature. The philosopher and the poet, the statesman and the private individual, the artist and the writer, old men and young, and even women, will discover in it solidity and elegance of thought, the magic fascination of the most beautiful colouring, scenes of the most delicate tenderness, the severity and softness of a style by turns vigorous and flowery; picturesque and romantic descriptions, and models of the most glowing eloquence and of the richest poetry, if we except only rhyme, the work being written in prose. Profound sentiments, accurate reflections, luminous illustrations, animated portraits, and enchanting landscapes, may all be found in this work, and in forms and colours the most suitable to each object. The laws, the manners, and the arts of ancient Greece, in short, nothing is forgotten. The reader is present at the conversations of Plato, Pericles, Alcibiades, and Aspasia; he sees, at one view, every thing which Greece can afford that is interesting, curious, and instructive; and, in addition to the interest he feels, while he is reading the history of the Greeks, and particularly of the Athenians, he is reading our own. The work has, undoubtedly, defects; but what human production is without them? An observation

very applicable to our times is to be found in it, that great calamities introduce a sensible change in the character of a people. This is equally true of great crises and great revolutions. "There arose," he says, "such a total alteration in ideas and principles, that the commonest words changed their meaning; good faith was termed credulity; duplicity, address; weakness and pusillanimity, prudence and moderation; whilst the effects of impudence and violence passed for the sallies of a great mind, and of an ardent zeal for the public welfare."

Thus it is that we have seen a gentle, humane, and feeling people become a race of cannibals; thus have we seen all notions of justice and sociability destroyed among us, to give place to sentiments destructive of all social order. The French have even gone so far as to believe that *sans-culotism*, that is to say, indigence and beggary, were substitutes for talents, probity, and patriotism; that it was necessary to intrust the administration of public affairs to a man, whom extreme poverty had necessarily made a knave, and whom ignorance and want of education had incapacitated for the task of governing. We have seen the French nation substitute the falsest and

and most absurd notions in the room of the wise maxims of ancient and modern legislators: we have believed that it was necessary at once to overthrow every thing, before we began to build up any thing; while, on the contrary, it is necessary to innovate with caution, and by degrees. We have thought that the revolutionary government, or rather torrent, would annihilate all resistance; and we have, by these strange means, twenty times hazarded the public weal, and brought down France to a degree of degradation which posterity will scarcely credit. We were persuaded that there was no necessity for secrecy in government, for discipline in armies, or for experience in generals; that it was necessary to ruin commerce in order to destroy aristocracy; that every thing must be done with the people and by the people. Thus the people, and especially those of the country, propagated anarchy, and despised the laws, when they were hostile to their self-interest. The labourer became the cruellest enemy of the assignats, and the most formidable counter-revolutionist, because, whilst assisting in the duties of administration, he intimidated or paralysed those administrators who were not themselves husbandmen. Neither a republic, however, nor liberty can exist without the most respectful submission to the laws. This

brings to our recollection a sublime thought of the author of *Anacharsis*. He compares the law to a palm-tree, which nourishes equally with its fruit all who repose under its shade. May the acceptance of the constitution of 1795 afford us all in like manner repose under the protecting shade of the law, and realise at length the intoxicating prospect of all the blessings which a people, free without anarchy, can enjoy ! May the fresh agitations, which have already manifested themselves with the most alarming symptoms, and of which we shall shortly give an account, resemble only the roaring of the sea, which still murmurs after the storm has passed !

Before we come to those afflicting recitals, it is necessary to speak of a loss severely felt by literature, the death of Cerutti, the author of the funeral oration on Mirabeau ! He did not long survive the man whose eulogium he pronounced with such splendid eloquence ; we may almost say that this discourse, so sparkling with beauties, was an *impromptu* : he employed two days only in its composition. The connoisseurs will carefully preserve his free translation of three odes of Horace ; the reflections, which he has printed at the end of the third ode, may be strictly applied to the disastrous period of Robe-

pierre's oligarchy. "In anarchy," says Cerutti, "a ferocity prevails, which proves that the natural passions remain savage even in the bosom of society, as lions do in a *menagerie*. Then every one, who will not go too far, appears to recede, or to be feeble. Plutarch relates, that one of Sylla's soldiers, having refused to murder his comrade, who was in the number of the proscribed, was clothed in a feminine habit, and plunged into the Tiber. The saying of that Roman is well known, who, wearied with rural repose, said, *I must return to Rome, I want to see human blood flowing in the Circus*. Colonel Kirk, whose soldiers were so many panthers, commanded by a tiger, called them, laughingly, his sheep. What a flock! what a shepherd! Sylla, who loved the sight of cruelties and of grief, caused some thousands of prisoners to be massacred in one day; the senators felt distressed at the cries of the dying; It is nothing, said he; the blood which is flowing deserves not your attention." Are we not reminded, by these features, of Robespierre and his sheep? Do we not recollect the butchers of the 2d and 3d of September? Do we not perceive the thirst of blood with which the Syllas of our days were consumed?

We are at length arrived at the last moments of the national convention, and at the period of the acceptance of the constitution, so much desired by all good citizens. O solemn day! fixed for this grand act of the sovereignty of the French people*. O day of reconciliation! This is the moment to lay aside all odious passions, to stifle every emotion of resentment, to sacrifice on the altar of our country the hideous factions, to tie the bonds of the most endearing fraternity, and to present, to the admiration of the universe, the striking and majestic spectacle of a great people united by the gentlest and most sympathetic affections, under the sacred dominion of the laws. Woe! woe be to those who have sold themselves to royalism and the disorganising genius of Pitt, and who shall again form their conspiracies amidst the obscurity of crime. May Egotism with her heart of brass; may the viler passions disappear from the land of liberty; may the public vessel shortly cast anchor in the harbour of security! We have overthrown the scaffold of terrorism; let us remember that those of royalism and of civil war will not be less terrible or less destructive. We have waded through rivers of blood to accomplish our revolution; it would be neces-

* The 20th Fructidor, Sept. 6.

sary to traverse oceans of it to return to royalty. The new constitution has not, undoubtedly, given sufficient grandeur and authority to the executive power; it includes, probably, other imperfections; the executive power does not form a third counterpoise as in England; we have only the counterpoise of two councils or of two chambers; but there is no barrier against them. The executive power does not sufficiently approach to unity, which, by being removeable, ceases to be dangerous to liberty, and can alone preserve it from anarchy and faction, those two rocks, on which republican governments split, more formidable than despotism itself. The constitution offers the means of remedying those defects which time and experience will discover, because it is provided that the constitutional act may be revised. There will be, at that time, many measures of public safety necessary to be adopted. We dare to propose the following measures beforehand: To give to the executive power a *veto* of 10 days at least; to reduce the number of deputies to 300; and to admit, as at Venice, candidates named by the departments, in order to assist at the deliberations of the two councils of the legislative body, and to instruct themselves in the art of governing; to decide that the primary assemblies shall be convoked only once in three years;

years; the legislatures being less frequently renewed, there will be less versatility in legislation, and fewer shocks to apprehend. It will be necessary to establish the constitutional jury imagined by Syeyes, and which was rejected without sufficient consideration. We should wish that in every sort of election there should be three lists; one of nomination, a second of scrutiny, and the third definitive: by means of these various measures, or others which may be imagined by more enlightened citizens, we dare to believe in the prosperity and immortality of the republic. We think, however, that, notwithstanding all these imperfections, it will be prudent not to correct them, and not to revise the constitution till the expiration of several years. We even believe that when the nation proceeds to the revision of the constitution, the opinion of those will be preferred who think that a single president or director, removeable every five years, and not eligible till after a certain interval, will give more unity, more force, more activity to the government, than five persons whose disunion may bring on a train of great evils: the secrets of state, and especially the plans of a campaign, are less easy to be prevented from being made public by five persons than by one. Responsibility is of less efficacy with five than with one. Let us remember

ber that the government cannot have too much vigour against those miscreants whose minds are continually agitated by the desire of injuring, of troubling, and dividing every thing; and by a continual thirst for blood. By giving this removeable president a greater extent of power, we should have three powers as in Sparta and England, and the further advantage of having no hereditary king or tyrant for life. At Athens two powers alone were erected by Solon; but a tyrant soon arose; he was overthrown, and the constitution re-established. The attentive observer remarks, that the necessity of a third power forced the Athenians frequently to create it, sometimes by a decree, and at others by a simple trust. It cannot be denied that Pericles was thirty years the president, the director of Athens, without possessing the name. Rome, according to Rousseau, had no true constitution till she had erected a third power, the tribunes. In England, the three powers respectively exercise the power of the tribunes.

Sweden had three powers in that period of its history, during which Rousseau remarks that it was the freest nation in Europe.

They

They are also to be found in the general constitution of the United States; I know nothing which approaches so nearly to demonstration as these historic lessons.

What we particularly dare to insist on, is the prolongation of the legislatures, and the less frequent convocation of the primary assemblies*.

Enlightened by the wisdom of Adams and Franklin, by reason and experience, the convention of Pennsylvania, entrusted with the revision of the constitution, reformed it on the unalterable principles of every true government; they rejected democratic delusions, divided the legislature into two chambers, and gave a negative to the executive power concentrated in a government elective and for life. Mr. Adams, whom some inexperienced men in Europe have so feebly attempted to refute, was not a man to be seduced by the jargon of rhetoricians, or by metaphysical fallacies. Pennsylvania, under his guidance, has

* If I wished to overthrow the republic, I should say, "Convoke the primary assemblies frequently, renew the legislatures frequently;" in short, I think it adviseable to establish, as at Genoa, five *supremi*, whose office should be to examine the conduct of the directors and deputies after the expiration of their functions.

done

done more. She has erected irremovable judges. It is not, however, an executive power for life that is proposed for our adoption, but a single power removable at the end of five years.

As to rendering all the public functionaries removable, we think, that the rotation of places, which has been so much vaunted by the half-enlightened, stifles emulation, and produces only men of mediocrity. If we wish to have such men as Daguesseau, Maleherbes, Servan, and Lachalotais; if we wish to have great ministers and profound legislators, we should make every public functionary almost irremovable.

The reader has run over with me the transactions of these seven years, I had almost said seven ages, of the most astonishing revolution in the world. We have pursued its course through rivers of blood, through mire and ruins. It only now remains to give a sketch of the events during the last months of these seven years. We have seen that eleven revolutions have succeeded each other in the French revolution, in the midst of numberless political storms and tempests. We have had the revolutions of the 14th of July; of the 5th and 6th of October; of the acceptance of the constitution of 1791 by the king;

king; of the 10th of August 1792; of the abolition of royalty and proclamation of the republic; of the tyrant's punishment; of the 31st of May, the epoch of the commencement of the decemvirate; of the acceptance of the constitution of 1793, which was proposed and immediately consigned to oblivion by the decemvirs, who substituted their dictatorship, disguised under the name of a revolutionary government, in its room; of the fall of the tyrants on the 9th Thermidor, which was also the epoch of the Thermidorian re action, which comprehends a double re-action; the one of the majority of the convention against the Mountain, the other of the royalists and of the aristocrats in their turn become true terrorists; and finally, the revolution of the acceptance of the constitution of 1795, and that of the 13th and 14th Vendemiaire of the 4th year, (October 4 and 5, 1795,) of which we proceed to give an account.

The convention, when they proposed the constitution of 1795 to the people for their acceptance, submitted also to their sanction the two famous decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, (Aug. 22 and 30,) by which it was enacted, that only one-third of its members should be renewed at once. These decrees met with the strongest

strongest opposition, and especially in Paris. Subsequent events have proved that the most marked royalism was the true incitement of the greater part of the opponents. Whilst they thought that the majority of the primary assemblies of the department would reject those two decrees, the sections of Paris, alarmed by the royalist leaders, declared they would abide by the majority of the votes of the nation; when the general opinion was found to be in favour of the two-thirds, *i. e.* that the votes of the greater number were for the renewal of the convention by one-third only, the chiefs of these same sections pretended that the votes had not been fairly collected. The publication of them which was ordered by the convention, and which gave the greatest notoriety to this transaction, should have destroyed every suspicion. It must even be observed, that neither the votes of the armies, nor those of the primary assemblies, who, by accepting the constitution to which these two decrees were annexed, and not having said any thing for or against them, had, at least, tacitly accepted them, were not taken for the purpose of establishing this majority. Never was the sovereignty of the people supported with more zeal. Royalists and aristocrats, who had treated it with contempt during the course of the revolution, at this

this period affected to undertake its defence; they contended, that the decree of the two-thirds limited the sovereignty of the people; they sedulously avoided making the observation, that it had been submitted to the sanction of the people, who were at liberty to reject it. This pretext deceived several presidents and secretaries of the sections, who were zealous and true republicans.

Several journalists had for some time been openly declaring that the convention ought to be dissolved; some went so far as to say, that they ought to be killed. The most violent writings against the convention were sold and hawked about all the streets. The misled sections of Paris declared themselves permanent, issued warrants of arrest, published proclamations contrary to those of the convention, and rivalled in every thing the assembly of the national representatives. The convention at length ordered the sections to close their sittings. The same decree commanded the electors not to assemble till the 20th Vendemiaire (October 11) for the nomination of deputies to the new legislature. The convention declared the presidents and secretaries of the assemblies, which resisted the law, guilty of treason against the sovereignty. The electors persisted in their disobedience; the plot

plot broke out in all its extent. On the 13th Vendemiaire (October 4), the misled sections, and among others the sections of Lepelletier, of the French theatre, formerly called the section of Marat, or of the Cordeliers, and that of la Butte des-Moulins caused the *generale* to be beaten; 30,000 armed men, infantry and cavalry, marched against the convention; the committees of government, instructed by so much fatal experience, this time took proper measures. A camp had been formed near Paris; this was the salvation of the country. The sectionary troops had no cannon. We have seen in the recital of the preceding events, that the sections had given up their cannon to the convention, at the time the Faubourg St. Antoine was disarmed. The convention made an appeal to the patriots of 1789. They rallied round it. Several sections, and among others, that of the Faubourg St. Antoine, the same faubourg which the convention had disarmed, came also to form a rampart with their bodies round the convention. The fatal hour on which the French were again to shed French blood was at hand. The sectionaries of la Butte-des-Moulins and of Lepelletier were the first to fire; the republicans returned it, a fight commenced in three different places. The greatest carnage took place on the quay Voltaire,

and the *rue Honoré*. The combat was bloody, but it could not be long; the royalists and those whom they had misled, for there were true republicans in the plot, men who were alarmed by these revolutionary and unconstitutional decrees, yielded to the fire of the cannon, and to the intrepidity of the conquerors at Gemappe and Fleurus. Never has public liberty been threatened with a greater danger, or a more serious conspiracy. This was not the plot of an individual. Whole sections in the capital, whose chiefs wished to massacre the convention and proclaim a king, were engaged in it. Their electors, for the most part, consisted of *ci-devant* nobles, priests, and journalists, who had not even disguised their counter-revolutionary sentiments. The leaders and the principal accomplices were, Lemaitre, *ci-devant* secretary-general of the council of the finances, Marchéna the Spaniard, a *ci-devant* body-guard of the name of Lafond, Laharpe, who has scribbled verses 60 years without ever producing a work of eminence*, and several presidents and secretaries of the sections: they all proposed to dissolve the convention by force. The ramifications of this plot were

* His Timoleon, though superior to Chenier's, is still an indifferent piece. The same may be said of his tragedy of Virginia; his style is pure, but without warmth or elevation.

extended far and wide; several towns had long imitated the audacious motions of the revolted sections at Paris. At Chartres, Letellier, a representative of the people, seeing himself in danger of being murdered by the mob, yielded for a moment to the demands of the people in order to spare the effusion of blood, and afterwards committed suicide, having previously retracted his decree. What a number of towns to which the section Lepelletier had sent emissaries, would have raised the standard of rebellion, if the events of the 13th Vendemiaire (Oct. 4) had taken a different turn. Never did the patriots of 1789, that is to say, the true patriots, who were not republicans from circumstances, but upon principle, who never varied from the commencement of the revolution, and who must not be confounded with the terrorists of Robespierre, gain a victory more complete or more important in its consequences. On this day the tomb of royalism was dug.

This unhappy day of the 13th Vendemiaire, (Oct. 4,) one of the most lamentable in the revolution, is too important to render any apology necessary for entering into all the details, and making all the reflections which are necessary

for transmitting an accurate notion of it to posterity.

All these mountaineers, all these Jacobins, all these proconsuls, covered with the leprosy of crime, and satiated with gold and with human blood, could not doubt but that general indignation would exclude them from the approaching legislature. It is certain that they said, "Let us make another revolution for the purpose of prolonging our power." The mass of the convention, the true republicans in that assembly, easily believed that the crimes of the decemvirs and their agents had excited hatred against a republican government; they also thought that the sudden transition from a revolutionary government to the reign of the laws, would hasten a new crisis, and bring on a new struggle between the republicans and the royalists. In conformity to these notions, the new legislature was calumniated even before it existed, and with the greater facility as the royalists had the impudence to discover that they depended on the newly elected. Thus a thirst of power on one side, and true sentiments of republicanism on the other, concurred in producing the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor (8th and 20th of Aug.).

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The sections of Paris, who participated in the horror felt by the departments for the proconsuls, mountaineers, and Jacobins, could not observe, without great indignation, that these decrees would perpetuate, or at least prolong their dreadful reign. It was with the sections, as with every numerous assembly; the mass is always pure, says Voltaire, and inclined to act rightly*. In consequence, whenever factious men are desirous of misleading an assembly, they always make a parade of their wish to promote the public welfare. Some of the sections did not conspire: unfortunately the chiefs of those sections were of two descriptions, the one zealous defenders of the sovereignty of the people, the other equally zealous royalists. Some young men, Jacobins perhaps, or paid by them, fired off their musquets, and the blood of our brethren began once more to flow. Would to God that another Desfile had then stopped its effusion. The sections were misled by their leaders; they ought not to have resisted the will of the departments which had accepted the decrees. It is likewise true that there were some doubts as to the fairness of the account given in

* The Jacobin Society formed no exception to this maxim of Voltaire's, till Robespierre had filled it with his creatures; then the number of honest men was very small.

of the votes; it was printed, but it was affirmed that it was never distributed. The sections did not pay sufficient attention to observe, that these decrees still left the liberty of excluding many Jacobins, and of procuring the advantage of leaving two thirds of the men who were habituated to business; they were not desirous of royalty, for they well knew that a king would no longer suffer a large capital, and they were attentive enough to the consideration, that the horror which the republican government had excited, was calculated to bring back royalty. There were errors and faults, and good and bad intentions on both sides; but Syeyes, and those who together with him first had the idea of the decrees of the two thirds, were the most in the wrong. That decree made blood flow in Paris; it might have made it flow in all France. We have already had revolutions enough; besides the nation is not a minor, for whom a guardian may be appointed. No one has a right to say he is wiser than the people. Should the liberty of choosing their representatives be acquired at such an expence of blood and lives, if they are believed not to be capable of choosing well? I know that at Athens, the Areopagus, without any special power for this purpose, but from the dignity which accompanied it, remanded to the
8 people,

people, for a second judgment, those upon whom they thought a wrong one had been passed. It may also happen that the nation will want a guardian; but she is at least the mistress of every thing; no one can say to her, without tyranny, *you would abuse your power, I will set bounds to it.* This was, with the exception of some of the leaders, the true motive of the sections; but when the departments had accepted, the whole should have terminated. It is to be presumed that the printed list of the votes was sent to them, since no outcry has been made on that subject. An eternal veil must be drawn over this epoch; a general amnesty, a complete and reciprocal oblivion must prevent fresh disorders, fresh resentment, and fresh hatred. We are all hungering after peace, still more in the interior than with our external foes; this is the only means of obtaining it.

The convention hastened the opening of the new legislature by some days, and fixed it for the 5th Brumaire (Oct. 26).

We have advanced from plot to plot, from storm to storm, and from re-action to re-action. May a long repose succeed to so many critical periods! The last decrees of the national con-

vention relative to the societies, self-called popular, gave the last blow to the agitators. We shall see in the course of the history, that this object also attracted the attention of the legislative body. After having rendered great services to the revolution in its commencement, those clubs or societies were become the most powerful supports of tyranny, and of anarchy which leads to tyranny, and which is a scourge a hundred times more terrible than tyranny itself. The criterion of innocence or guilt, patriotism or incivism was the interest, the hatred, or the affection of the societies; they were, said Mercier, one of our best journalists, and a proscribed deputy, to intriguers and the factious, what the militia of the religious orders is to the pope; they propagated, not the true spirit of liberty which consists in justice, in law, and in the security of life and property, but revolutionary fanaticism, the dreams of insane demagogues, and principles the most subversive of all social order. It might have been said, that colonies of Huns and Vandals had suddenly taken possession of the splendid asylum of the arts and sciences; they believed that to destroy was to regenerate, and that to assassinate the rich was to labour for the poor. Their destruction was another benefit derived from the convention of the

the

the 9th Thermidor. We shall conclude with one single reflection the account of its operations. To it we owe all the good which will flow from the new government. The constitution of 1795, in our eyes, affords absolution to the convention for all its errors, and all the crimes with which it can be reproached, and which we cannot be accused of palliating.

We have taken a general survey of the labours of the convention; let us now consider on the whole this revolution so prodigious, so astonishing for the boldness or rather temerity with which it attacked at once all abuses, assailed all prejudices, confounded all interests, and sapped the foundation of all the ancient institutions of a vast and populous empire, so terrible by the blood which it caused to be spilled on the scaffold and in battle, by the shock it has given to the whole European system; so memorable for the long continuance of plots of every species, of critical situations of every nature to which France was exposed; in short so admirable for a great number of examples of the most extraordinary heroism, and for that constancy and longanimity which was displayed by a people the most impatient, the most fickle, and the most impetuous in the universe, in the
midst

dist of famine, and of a wretchedness so much the more difficult to endure, because it was while there was abundance of every thing, that the unexampled dearness of provisions, caused by the discredit of the assignats, reduced them to the most grievous privations; whilst they saw monopolists, stock-jobbers, and vampires of every species every day aggravating with increased audacity the weight of their misfortunes, and insulting the public misery by an ostentatious luxury. We have had to delineate furious madmen, monsters like nothing in nature, such as were the greater number of the proconsuls who were sent on mission; but we have likewise to relate the honorable death of more than one Socrates, and instances of sublime sacrifices. It will suffice to recall to mind Malesherbes, that magistrate who combated despotism with so much vigour even in the courts of kings, and who perished by the dictatorial sword, a victim of a revolution of which he was the ornament and support. Favras may likewise in several points of view be compared to Socrates. La Corday will sustain a parallel with Epicharis; and antiquity has few heroic citizens who can be contrasted with a Defille, the martyr of humanity; a Simoneau, the martyr of the law; a Beaurepaire, who

who would not survive his country's disgrace; a Boissy d'Anglas, who set the assassins at defiance, and refused to degrade the Convention over which he presided by any act of personal weakness; a Rolland, who would not survive his wife the victim of tyranny; or the wife of Claviere, who followed her husband, who had also fallen a sacrifice, to the tomb.

Our revolution was brought about without any chief who prepared or directed it. The force of circumstances alone produced the effect. The most astonishing thing is, what will almost authorize the belief of some supernatural agency in this great revolution, that all the events, all the plots, all the treachery, in short, all which was most calculated to overthrow it, or impede its progress, have, on the contrary, contributed to its acceleration and confirmation. It has been said that the revolution was a perpetual prodigy, and that France, twenty times on the brink of ruin, was as often saved by as many miracles. It is certain that posterity will scarcely believe this extraordinary connection of causes and effects which have contributed to its triumph; in fact, if the court had not conspired on the 5th and 6th of October, the king
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and the constituent assembly would never have been fixed at Paris, and the greater part of the subsequent events would never have taken place. If the king had accepted the constitution with sincerity, we should still be under the yoke of royalty. To revenge Capet the monarchs of all Europe took up arms; Frederick then adopted the project of Gustavus whom the murderous steel cut off at the moment he meditated the same enterprize. He assembled 80,000 men, and all the emigrants, so ferocious and so greedy of revenge. The territory of the Republic was overrun; Longwy, Verdun, fell into their power, the Prussian army was at the gates of Chalons; on a sudden a cruel malady assailed those presumptuous warriors, they were compelled to abandon the plains of Champagne, and owed their safety to treachery. At Gemappe the Austrians in vain had on their side art and nature, the republican impetuosity triumphed over military tactics; this victory puffed up Dumourier's heart; he attributed it to his genius, and but for the consequences of the battle of Nerwinde, where the genius of the republic permitted us to be conquered, Holland would have been vanquished by a general who meditated his country's ruin, and who,
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by unexampled success, had acquired, like Cæsar, to whom he dared to compare himself, the greatest influence with his soldiers.

In the sequel of the war, Valenciennes and Maubeuge opposed a barrier to Cobourg. Fleurus beheld his defeat, and we entered as conquerors the same places, from which treachery had happily excluded us at a time when their invasion would only have seconded Dumourier's projects. The ramparts of Maestricht, of Breda, and of Bergen-op-zoom were battered, and the gates of those cities were opened to us. We triumphed on the borders of the Rhine; the passage is impracticable during the winter, but the elements fought for us. The longest and severest winter of the 18th century made its appearance; in the midst of snow and ice our troops passed the Rhine, vanquished Holland, dethroned the Stadtholder, and triumphantly planted the tri-coloured standard in Amsterdam. The departments of the west were in open rebellion, our generals suffered themselves to be beaten, either through ignorance or treachery; the republic could no longer resist the Vendéans. On a sudden, discord arose among the rebels; one party of them passed the Loire, made a descent upon Brittany, and were soon weakened,

weakened, conquered, dispersed, and cut to pieces by the republicans. The decemvirs deluged France with blood in order to establish their despotism on the basis of terror: France seemed then to be peopled only with victims and executioners. The excess of this tyranny was the cause of its overthrow. Our legislators gained instruction in the school of experience and misfortune; and the admirable Constitution of 1795 was the consequence. The cavern of the Jacobins, the popular societies, and all the hot-beds of anarchy were destroyed. The factions which arose in the midst of the national assemblies, balanced the various parties and made them less dangerous. The nobility emigrated in crowds, and nothing could be more favourable to the revolution than that emigration. It is certain that if the rich had not emigrated, or if they had returned after the amnesty, every thing promised an ascendancy in the interior which would soon have been irresistible*. The war from without has been of singular service to the revolution, inasmuch as it has given discipline and a warlike spirit to our national guards, and taught the nation the extent of its

* To this it is said, that they would have been all slaughtered by degrees. I believe on the contrary, that they would have served as a counterpoise to the decemvirs.

powers. But above all we must remark on the days of the 12th Germinal (April 1), of the 4th Prairial (May 23), and of the 13th Vendemiaire (Oct. 4), an unexampled and almost miraculous combination of circumstances, which all contributed to the consolidation of a revolution, which they were intended to overthrow; yet all these events are but the natural consequences of each other. It was natural that the terrorists, Jacobins, Cromwellists, and Robespierrists, should be succeeded by other terrorists and other men of blood, because in morals as well as in physics, action and re-action are proportionate to each other; and it is more especially in a revolution, where the chances of events are subject to so much vicissitude, that every man who publishes the principle, that he is permitted to slaughter and assassinate all who are of an opposite party, signs his own death warrant. It was natural that the plain in the convention should call to its aid the Parisian youth, whose relations had perished by the sword of the mountaineers, for the purpose of subduing this mountain, which was erected on the bones of a thousand carcases and victims. It was the natural consequence of the principles of this *gilded youth*, who were almost all misled by
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by the Royalists, to second the designs of the plain from a hope of being able to destroy it, if they succeeded in overthrowing the mountain. The sections of Paris, for the greater part influenced by the Royalists, would naturally assist in disarming the Faubourg St. Antoine, (that Faubourg which had so powerfully contributed to the revolution at the taking of the Bastille,) and in sending their cannon to the convention, that it might, without giving them umbrage, get into its power those sections where the revolutionists had most influence; this surrender of the cannon was the greatest error into which the royalists fell; if they had preserved them, they would probably have gained the victory on the 13th Vendemiaire (Oct. 4). This great insurrection of the devoted sections, and that in which the Parisian youth had risen against the convention under the pretence of preventing the patriotic and triumphant air of the *Marsellois* from being played, procured from the convention a decree for depriving the sections of their small arms also, and for disarming these dangerous young men. Thus it is that the excesses of the new terrorists, and of the societies of Jesus and of the Sun, in like manner induced the senate to strike

strike terror once more into their souls. It is equally true that all the re-actions produced an advantage from the lassitude and exhaustion of the parties. The factions have since been, if not entirely extinguished, at least considerably reduced. These perpetual re-actions have also concurred in freeing the republic from her most formidable enemies, and in unmasking her adversaries. The last hope of the royalists was in that fictitious famine which we have experienced in the midst of plenty through the discredit of paper money; but this discredit itself has enabled the government the more easily to withdraw from circulation, when it shall think proper, this paper which at first saved France, and then menaced her with destruction; it is thus that the same element gives life and death. Even the Orleanist faction, by its crimes, produced, in its own despite, the double effect of abolishing royalty when it overturned the throne, and of rendering itself impotent in its attacks on the public liberty from the horror which its offences excited. In short our misfortunes have instructed us; and we have at last a good constitution.

The general survey which we have taken of the revolution, brings us to consider all the

snare and all the obstacles with which it has been uniformly surrounded. What combats have not the French nation and the convention had to sustain? What factions to destroy? What plots to counteract? What a number of citizens to undeceive? What treason to unmask, to prevent, and to repair? Is it not to the convention that the honour is due? Mankind will long speak, undoubtedly, of its errors: crime has been its companion; she has sat in its seats and hovered over its courts; she has presided at its deliberations, and dictated its decrees. Like the Roman senate, the convention has had its Catiline and its Cethegus; it was at one time weak, at another violent, oftener still, drawn aside from its true wisdom by circumstances and the efforts of discontent; but at length it has surmounted all its internal impediments, and as to the external war, the whole country, from the borders of the Var to the banks of the Rhine, has resounded with our acclamations of victory.

There appeared a pamphlet, intitled *Coup d'Oeil sur la Revolution Française*, written by General Montesquieu, and followed by the answer of Count d'Entraigues. We shall not attempt here to refute the answer of the *ci-devant* Count.

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The great talents of this partizan of royalty have only been used for the purpose of defending the cause of his party, by all the false representations which his partiality suggested. General Montesquieu equally looks at our revolution, in his work, through a false prism; but some excellent truths have escaped from him. He agrees that the source of all the misfortunes of France was to be found in the hereditary pride of the nobility, which induced them, imprudently, to resist the *tiers-etat*, and which five years of disgrace only tended to irritate. He also allows that it would be a great example to the world, to offer for its imitation a nation, which, after a long series of ages of slavery, awaking on a sudden, and recurring proudly to the elementary principles of all society, should have the prudence, from the power of reason alone, to set bounds to her own liberty which she had prohibited herself from overstepping; but how, adds he, can we expect to unite what appear contradictory in their natures, the coolness of wisdom with the energy of enthusiasm?

This single avowal ought to have prevailed on him to regard our revolution with a more favourable eye. We will not follow him in the evidently partial manner in which he represents

facts; we recognize in it a blind adorer of royalty. We shall only notice what he has advanced on one of the most interesting occurrences in the history of the revolution, the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick. When the allied armies penetrated into France in the year 1792, under the command of the first general in Europe, he must have believed, says Montefquieu on the faith of the emigrants, that the enterprise would be as easy as the reduction of Holland had been in 1789. Instead however of the eagerness, with which, according to the emigrants, the French would hasten to embrace their pretended deliverers; instead of the friendly reception so much vaunted, and the abundance of supplies which was to follow, the Prussians saw nothing but a desert, and one vast tomb around them in the plains of Champagne; and little was wanted to reduce the finest army in Europe, vanquished rather by the policy than the arms of the French, in the midst of its progress, to the humiliating situation of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. A considerable part of it perished for want; the remainder owed its safety only to the skill of its general, and was too fortunate to have it in his power to escape from a country, the conquest of which was expected to be

be merely an amusement *. We have, in this history, detailed the various motives of the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick; it is certain that his position, become every day more dangerous, concurred with the repeated requests made him by Louis XVI. from the midst of his prison, to decide him to retreat. The *ci-devant* Count d'Entraigues believes that the allied powers temporized too much, and that if they had decided more promptly, if they had penetrated into France two years sooner, they would infallibly have effected a counter-revolution; since at that time there was no preparation for war in the interior of France, and the army of the line were in a state of complete disorganization. We cannot be of the same opinion with the Count: France was then in the enthusiasm of liberty;

* The remainder of Brunswick's army owed its safety only to treachery. The emigrants accused the Duke of Brunswick of treachery in retreating instead of attacking the French at Chalons, and pursuing his victorious march to Paris. The truth is, that that Prince judged of his position like a skilful warrior; his line, already twenty leagues in extent, was attacked on all sides by two hostile armies, which were increasing every day: his convoys no longer arrived: the country afforded no supplies: though he had conquered at Chalons, he would no less have been compelled to retreat; if he had been vanquished, he would have been reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The emigrants deceived him, because they were deceived themselves as to the dispositions of the people of France.

thousands of armed men had sprung up out of the earth. The history of all free nations proves that, during the first attempts of a people to gain its rights, an invasion of its territory cannot be successful; it is only when the nation begins to be weary of its liberty, that an external attack is really to be apprehended, and that an invasion becomes easy.

Before we bring this general survey of our revolution to a conclusion, we should observe, that the good fortune of the republic has provided that all the plots which have been directed against her should be formed by men who had the views but not the genius requisite for conspirators. The plots of the court were conceived and executed with the greatest unskillfulness. Those of La Fayette, Dumouriez, and Bouillé, deserve the same character. The danger was greater on the 13th and 14th Vendemiaire (Oct. 4 and 5): but it must be observed, that the sectionaries were without cannon, and above all, that they had not at their head a single chief to give consistence to this great insurrection. The only plot which was conceived with any depth of thought, or any probable hopes of success, was that formed by M. de Maillebois. He was betrayed by his secretary; but without that event, and

and if the allied powers had adopted his plan, France would have been seriously endangered. At the time of the plot of the court against Paris, it is also to be presumed, that if the idea of the *ci-devant* Count d'Artois had been followed up, who suggested the putting M. Maillebois in the place of M. Broglio, M. de Maillebois would not have given the Parisians time to recollect themselves, and make preparations for their defence. The conspiracy of Robespierre and of the commune of Paris could not but fail, because they foresaw no resistance. The plot of the month Floreal in the 4th year (May 1795) was still more profoundly iniquitous; but Babœuf and his accomplices did not recollect that every thing depends on secrecy; those conspirators were ignorant that it is more especially necessary in conspiracies to calculate all the chances, and provide against all consequences. If a Cromwell had read the history of our revolution, he would have said, *The French do not know how to conspire.*

We have already spoken, more than once, of the different denominations which the various factions, that have agitated France, assumed. It may not be improper to give the reader in this place a general sketch of them. He will

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recollect

recollect that in the constituent assembly, the patriots called the deputies on the right side, Blacks; and these last, the others, the Palais-royal corner. Then came the Fayettists, the Feuillans, the Maratists, the Orleanists, the Brissotines, the Girondists, the Statesmen. To them succeeded the denominations of the Suspected, of Moderés, of Ultra-revolutionists, and of Exaggerates. While Robespierre's faction was the predominant party, he persecuted and assassinated his adversaries, applying to them all these names, and increasing the list by the terms, Dantonists, Hebertists, &c. Then one party in the convention was called the Mountain; the members of the other party were called the inhabitants of the Plain, the toads of the marsh, an expression only fit for the markets. After the fall of Robespierre, the Thermidorians called their enemies, or those whom they regarded as such, Robespierrists, Terrorists, Jacobins, Blood-suckers, and Anarchists. The Thermidorian re-actors were in their turn called Hecatombists, or makers of Hecatombs, new Terrorists or Furorists. It will be seen in the latter part of this history, that the word Chouannerie, and the epithet of Chouan is that which the republican party, or at least those who called themselves so, gave to those whom they believed

to be of an opposite party. The latter call the former exclusive patriots, monarchists, and Pantheonists, because many of them had formed a club in the section of the Pantheon. They did not call each other at Rome either Ciceronians, or Pompeians, or Cæsarians; but the Romans were not the less divided; they mutually proscribed and slaughtered each other. We have added to these same horrors, the *charms* of injurious epithets; it is no great increase of the crime. When discord and murder must take place, it is of no consequence whether the foundations are laid in odious denominations, or in any other mode: our descendants will, at least, find it difficult to add to this dictionary of insults.

On the 4th Brumaire (October 25th) the national convention, conformably to the decree of the 30th Vendémiaire, (October 21,) declared that its session was terminated. It first abolished, as we have already said, capital punishments; but this decree is only to be put in force after the peace. It also published a general amnesty; it however excepted those who opposed the putting in force the constitution, after the famous decrees of the 5th and 15th Thermidor, (August 22 and

22 and September 1 *,) and the commencement of the function of the legislative body on the 5th Brumaire, (October 26,) conformably to the decrees of the 10th and 30th Vendemiaire (October 1 and 21). It also excepted from this amnesty those who had been condemned for contumacy on the conspiracy of 13th and 14th Vendemiaire, (October 4 and 5,) the banished priests, the fabricators of forged assignats, and the emigrants whether returned or not, with regard to whom the punishment of death is irrevocably fixed and maintained. The convention formed itself into an electoral body, under the presidency of the oldest of its members, on the same day, the 4th Brumaire, (October 25,) and as soon as it had declared its session terminated. Some deputies attempted to prolong the session of the conventional assembly; but the convention, faithful to its decrees, and faithful to the republic, afforded, like the first constituent assembly, the great example of not seeking to perpetuate itself, as did the long parliament of England.

The convention has had the glory of concluding an honourable peace with Prussia and

* We shall return to the law of the 3d Brumaire (Oct. 24); we shall demonstrate all its defects.

Spain,

Spain. May we be able in the latter part of this history, in which we shall follow the labours of the legislative body until the 1st of November 1796, to sign a treaty of peace with the other rival powers! May the storms which we have been under the necessity of describing, no longer lour over our horizon, to foster the revivification of the carcase of royalty, or of the monster anarchy! May we no longer see Marius's and Syllas wrestling and succeeding each other incessantly! It is time that faithful generals should succeed perfidious generals. It is time that a Camillus should replace a Dumouriez, and that our governors should be Aristides, and not Catilines. Pope was in the right when he said,

“Whate'er is best administered is best.”

Let our new governors be just, and they will inspire the love of a republican government. There is nobody who does not prefer the glorious days of the Roman republic, to the reign of blood and the proscriptions of the triumvirs, or to the destructive follies of Nero and Domitian; as there is nobody who does not prefer the reign of Henry IV. to the republic of a Robespierre.

If the legislative body does not seek to usurp the executive power; if an ambitious directory does

does not attempt to humble the harmony which should subsist between its members and the legislative body ; if discord does not introduce herself among the directors ; if the majority of the two councils remain constantly republican ; if they do not desire to narrow the limits of the republic ; and if they attempt to inspire the surrounding nations with more confidence than jealousy, there is no degree of glory and prosperity which France may not reach.

Let it not be said that a republican form of government is not adapted to the French character. We know that a Roman emperor has written that the Gauls were too fierce to be slaves, and too cowardly to be free. He did not observe that government fashions a people at its pleasure. Behold the Romans ; they were conquerors in the time of the Scipios ; under the popes, the same people resemble a timid flock of sheep, ready to fly at the least appearance of danger. The Gauls are represented by Julian as a grave and serious people ; under the regent, and since his time, they have become gay and frivolous. The fate of the republic will depend on the national assemblies ; they will not, perhaps, contain so many men of eloquence, so many deputies famous in the tribune and in the council, of whom
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the greater part unhappily abused their talents for the purpose of conspiracy; but good sense may, to a certain degree, supply the place of those brilliant talents, and is infinitely preferable, if it be but too true, that an unbounded and fatal ambition accompanies and tarnishes their splendor. Legislators ought, therefore, principally to distinguish themselves by good sense and mature deliberation; they should favour the really useful arts, and proscribe those whose tendency is to enervate, disgrace, or degrade the national character; those which cherish the luxury of frivolity, much more fatal to republics than to monarchies. Eloquence, poetry, and history, cannot but acquire energy and dignity under a free government. The public tribunes must bring eloquence into greater estimation. It will be seen in the following book, that the legislative body has re-opened, in establishing the national institute, that sanctuary of the sciences of which Francis I. conceived the idea, which was erected by Colbert a hundred years since, and which the decemviral tyranny and Vandalism shut four years back. The convention has collected together a vast number of *chef-d'œuvres* in painting and sculpture, in an immense museum destined for the public instruction. The revolution has already re-exhibited the great effects

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produced

produced among the ancient Greeks by song and music. The sciences, less accessible than the arts, have, in spite of the revolutionary storms, witnessed the multiplication of the hot-houses of instruction, and of the means of encouragement in the public lycéums, and in the laboratories and cabinets of chymists and physicians. More than 50 journals are consecrated to the propagation of knowledge, since genius is no longer impeded in its progress by censors, nor restrained by privileges. The dominion of science has been necessarily extended by the rich harvests which have been reaped by the young Frenchmen sent by the national assembly to the South Sea, in compliance with the wishes of the society of natural history, to discover the traces of Lapeyrouse. The two constituent assemblies prepared the beautiful plan of public instruction, which unites the immense mass of knowledge which genius can conceive or embrace. It will be seen in the latter part of this work, that the legislative body has begun to put this plan in execution. It has decreed that there shall be a school of practical astronomy in the college of the four nations. The mechanical and chymical arts, linked to the sciences by theory and practice, are probably the most favoured of all by the revolution. The destruction of municipal privileges

leges and freedoms has given activity to manufactures of every species; a crowd of new ones have been erected in the environs of Paris. Their principal objects are the mineral acids and salts most useful in the arts; the bleaching of linen by Bartholet's process; the preparation of tallow, spermaceti, and oils; the decomposition of the marine salt for the extraction of the alkali; the preparation of animal flesh and bones; the various dressings of skins and hair; and the spinning of cotton and wool. The genius of liberty will never be at variance with the genius of art and of science. Liberty is their true element, man becomes all that his nature will admit; and talents have the greatest latitude allowed for their developement, in all the energy of which they are susceptible, under a republican government. There is the greatest reason to hope, that since they have made such a progress during the war and the revolutionary storms, they will contribute, after a general pacification in Europe, more rapidly to the perfection of human reason; and will add to the glory of the nation, at the same time that they will augment its true riches.

BOOK XXX.

The first Labours of the Council of Five Hundred, and of the Council of Ancients.—Organization of the Executive Directory.—Finances.—Discussion on the Law of the 3d Brumaire, (Oct. 24,) relative to the Deputy J. Jacques or Job Aymé.—Resolution of the Council of Five Hundred on that Subject.—It is approved by the Council of Ancients.—Another Discussion relative to the Law of the 6th Floreal, (April 25,) on the Confiscation of the Estates of the Emigrants—Resolution and Decision on that Subject.—Feast of the 1st Pluviose (Jan. 20).—Arrival and Reception, in the Hall, of the Representatives, whom Dumouriez's Treachery had made Prisoners.—Interesting Details given by those Deputies.—Arrival of the Ambassadors of Spain and Prussia.—Debates and Resolution on the Subject of the Clubs or popular Societies.—The Feast of Youth.—Establishment and first public Sitting of the National Institute.—Capture and Execution of Stofflet and Charette.—Situation of Europe, and particularly of the French Republic.—Reflections on Holland.—Digression on what has been called the Revolution

tion of Brabant.—General Picbegru sent to Constantinople as Ambassador from the Republic.—His Refusal.—Parallel between Picbegru and Jourdan.—Interesting Details on their military Transactions.—Feasts given to those two Generals.—Tempestuous Sitting on the Subject of the Troubles in the South.

A NEW order of things presents itself; a just, firm, and stable government has erected itself on the ruins of an expiring anarchy. The physiognomy of the executive directory announces governors who will not connect themselves with any faction, who will not balance one party against the other, but will watch and quell them all. It appears that there will long be two opposite parties in the legislative body; we wish to believe that both parties love the republic, and that they are only divided as to the means of consolidating it. Fortunately the most perfect harmony appears to subsist between the two councils and the executive directory. We hope, in beginning the history of their labours, to have only to describe a just government, whose ambition is solely to bind up the yet bleeding wounds of France, and to procure for her a restoring peace, of which the whole world feels the urgent necessity; so that, as a finishing stroke to the singularity

larity of our revolution, and as a distinction between it and that of all other people, an anarchy, which generally leads to despotism, may be for us a school which produces true liberty, that is to say, a good government, and good laws. We have learned that a state, as Plutarch observes, can be happy neither under arbitrary power nor in very great independence.

It has been seen in the preceding book, that the convention formed itself into an electoral body, as soon as it had decreed the termination of its session. As soon as the members of the two councils had been named, and before they were completely organised, the council of five hundred hastened to form the executive power. They chose citizens Rewbel, Lareveillère Lepaux, Barras, Letourneur (de la Manche), and Syeies, as directors; on the refusal of the last to accept the office, Citizen Carnot was elected in his room. The refusal of Syeies does him honour; he, without doubt, thought that at the eve of a fourth campaign, the acknowledged military talents of Carnot would be useful to the republic. We have been even informed that this refusal was previously concerted, and that Syeies would not have been proposed, but from a fear lest Carnot should be obnoxious from having been a member of

of the famous committee of government, the eternal object of the public execration; though it was acknowledged that Carnot had rather been the dupe and victim, than the accomplice or agent of the decemvirs. The choice of these men and of the ministers met, in general, with the public approbation. On the 10th Brumaire (October 31) the council of five hundred formed itself into a general and secret committee, to consider of the state of the finances, and of the means of alleviating the public misery. Its sittings on these subjects were long and frequent; they concluded by issuing two thousand four hundred millions of territorial *mandats*. They previously enacted that the mandat or the assignat, reduced to one-thirtieth of their primary value, should be the only national money which should be acknowledged in the tribunals. We should have wished that they had adopted the project of a bank proposed by Lafond Ladebat. It was a bank which saved and re-established public credit in England, Holland, and Venice. Perhaps they feared to make the republic dependent on a financial company in a time of revolution; but if there had been any doubt of its republican principles, were there not a thousand ways of watching over it, nay of securing its fidelity to its engagements;

in short, of making the government independent of it.

The law of the 3d Brumaire (Oct. 24) was the signal of division; by that law the relations of emigrants, and the promoters of liberticide measures and decrees, were disabled from exercising any public function till peace should be restored. The discussion began on the subject of Job Aimé, a deputy named by the electoral assembly of the department of La Drome. The question was to determine in a solemn manner, which were the members of the legislative body elected by the people, who, according to the literal text of the law were inadmissible: some declared on the rights of justice, and the sovereignty of the people; others took occasion from it to excite fresh insurrections, to renew denunciations, and to create fresh divisions. The royalists went so far as to report that a new 31st of May was intended. Without agreeing to this misrepresentation, we cannot disallow that the law of the 3d Brumaire was as unconstitutional as the decree of the two thirds, with this difference, that the public safety perhaps imperiously demanded the latter decree, which was besides submitted to the

the sanction of the people, but the law of the 3d Brumaire was not required by the public safety. It certainly did not depend on a dozen deputies who might be in the predicament provided against by the law; it was probable also that among those very deputies, there were many good republicans, or at least men who were good citizens enough to submit to the opinion of the majority, and not to cause new disturbances. To deprive them of their situation, was to imitate the injustice of the constituent body, and the assembly which succeeded it, in their conduct towards the priests whose consciences they violated; and to whom the present legislative body have just restored their civil rights. It was in our opinion a real attack on the sovereignty of the people. The legislative body were of different sentiments; and in consequence of a resolution passed by the council of five hundred, and approved by the ancients, Job Aimé was excluded from the legislative body.

Another question, less important indeed, but not less delicate in decision, was that of the confiscation of the wealth of the emigrants. According to a law of the legislative assembly which had allotted the wealth as an indemnity due to the nation; a law of March 20, 1792, had for ever

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banished

banished the emigrants from the territory of that country which their ferocious rage had wished to deluge with blood, and decreed that all the successions direct or collateral, which might fall to them for the term of 50 years, should devolve to the profit of the republic. It was at other periods that the parents of the emigrants felt a severer blow in the persons of their children. By a decree of the 17th Frimaire, of the 2d year, (Dec. 7, 1793,) their present possessions were sequestered. At length the law of the 9th of last Floreal, (April 29, 1796,) brought the subject to a final determination; by that law the nation renounced all right to any collateral succession which the emigrants might inherit. It delivered parents from every sequestration, and discharged them from the support of two foldiers for each child which had emigrated; an obligation which had been imposed on them by a law of the 17th of Sept. 1792; but it, from that moment, gave to the public use, that portion of their actual possessions, and of the other relations of emigrants in the ascending line of which the emigrants were presumptive heirs. It must not be forgotten that this disposition was softened by a portion granted to these relations beyond their legal share; the law further admitted them each

each to take another portion for each child in this partition; and allowed them a deduction for their debts contracted without fraud. It is this law which it was wished to repeal. After very violent debates, the council passed a resolution, the terms of which are as follows: "Those
" whose estates were subject to the sequestration
" exacted by the law of the 17th Frimaire,
" (Dec. 7,) shall be admitted to demand the
" partition prescribed by the law of the 9th
" Floreal, (April 29,) the sequestration shall
" be in force against those who do not apply
" for the partition." The council of ancients approved of this resolution.

On the 1st Pluviose, (Jan. 20,) they celebrated by a festival the anniversary of the punishment of the last kingly tyrant; Robespierre and his accomplices were our last tyrants, but under another title and other forms. The oath never more to suffer tyranny or tyrants was repeated. The book of the constitution, that sacred ark of the rights of a great people, was carried in great state upon a litter covered with drapery fringed with gold. May all these august solemnities, and all these pompous festivals unite the French, so that they may form but one family always ready to combat tyranny!

For many years have fatal re-actions afflicted the country and humanity, and offered us the hideous spectacle of an immense crowd of citizens, by turns victims and executioners. The pure patriots have been persecuted under the names of Maratists, Dantonists, Feuillans, Girondists, Jacobins, Moderés, Terrorists, and Exclusives. After the 10th of August, Marat's sentence paved the way for the 31st of May. The death of Camille Desmoulins and Phillippeaux, the danger with which Tallien and several other deputies saw themselves menaced, led Robespierre and his partizans to the scaffold. The ever-famous trial of Collot, Billaud Varennes, and Barrère, brought on the events of the 12th Germinal, and the 1st Prairial (April 1, and May 20). On the view of this great division the royalists placed themselves in the ranks of the patriots, and the most cruel re-action began; in short, the royalists imagined that they might be able to take advantage of the defeat of the anarchists, who had fallen in the month Prairial. They believed in particular, that they should not fail to profit by the fortunate pretext which the revolutionary decrees of the two thirds presented them. The plot of the 13th Vendemiaire, (Oct. 4,) was soon concerted; this attempt of the royalists gave rise to the law of the

the 3d Brumaire, (Oct. 24,) another revolutionary measure which we cannot approve. Since that day the favourers of the transactions in Prairial, and the insurgents of Vendemiaire, observed, watched, calumniated, and accused each other; and in many places, especially in the south, they butchered each other. The walls of Paris were covered with atrocious pamphlets, with perfidious and counter-revolutionary reflections. The legislative body thought it their duty to speak out; they decreed that all the members and all the public functionaries should take the oath of hatred to royalty.

A really affecting scene took place, which was calculated to re-animate more and more every heart worthy of embracing republican sentiments, with that immortal hatred which men lately made free should cherish against tyranny, and which lived in the hearts of all the Greeks. The representatives Bancal, Camus, Quinette, and Lamarque, who had been given up to the Austrians by the most infamous treachery, appeared in the hall of the five hundred, during the sitting of the 12th Nivose (Jan. 1). The whole assembly rose spontaneously to testify their joy, and received them with the loudest acclamations
of

of applause. The president addressed them in a speech of congratulation. Camus announced that Drouet, Marec, Semonville, and the ex-general Bournonville, had arrived at Paris by different roads; he related the evils they had suffered. We think it proper to make an analysis of his speech here; those who have read Dumouriez's memoirs will see how exact is Camus's narration of his mission against Dumouriez. Nothing was wanting to complete the infamy with which the latter has covered himself, but an avowal from himself [of his turpitude in that part of his memoirs. Camus divided his speech into four parts, the first was occupied with the events which occurred from the 30th of March 1793, until the 29th of May, the period when the prisoners left Maestricht: the second relates the treatment they met with from the 29th of May, until July 17, in the dungeons of Coblenz, Wilzbourg, Kilberg, Olmutz, and Kœnigrats: the third treats of their release, and their arrival at Fribourg in Brisgau: and in the fourth, he gives the history of their travels from their departure from Fribourg, till their arrival at the legislative body. "The victory of Gemappe," says Camus, "was the source of all Dumouriez's treachery. "The

“ The success of that brilliant day puffed up
 “ his heart : he attributed to his talents, what
 “ was the consequence of the courage of the
 “ republican warriors *. Belgium appeared to
 “ him a legitimate conquest ; but foreseeing
 “ that his projects would not have complete
 “ success in Belgium, he made an incursion
 “ into the United Provinces, where he hoped
 “ to reign more absolutely than he could have
 “ done in the Austrian Netherlands. His views
 “ were soon disclosed ; he openly declared against
 “ the convention and its commissioners, and
 “ issued proclamations contrary to their decrees.
 “ The immense popularity which he had ac-
 “ quired with the soldiery, was a restraint on
 “ the commissioners, and forced them to act with
 “ caution ; but Dumouriez soon threw off the
 “ mask. ‘ I am accused,’ said he to me, (Camus,)
 “ ‘ of wishing to be a second Cæsar ; if I am
 “ attacked, I know how to defend myself.’
 “ As he pronounced these words, he laid his
 “ hand on the hilt of his sword. ‘ If you wish
 “ to be Cæsar, I will be Brutus,’ replied
 “ Camus with vivacity, pointing his pistol to his
 “ breast†.

* It is well known that we are indebted for the success of that day, more especially to Dampierre and Bournonville.

† Dumouriez in his memoirs, affects to describe Camus as a little intimidated at the danger of his mission.

“ The

“ The commissioners arrived at the camp
“ without an escort ; but a detachment of
“ hussars of Berchini surrounded their carriage,
“ and Beurnonville's. ‘ Who are these armed
“ men which surround us,’ said the commis-
“ sioners ? ‘ It is a guard which Dumouriez has
“ sent you as a mark of respect,’ replied one of
“ the troop. At these words, they no longer
“ doubted that the traitor-general wished to
“ secure their persons.

“ The commissioners arrived in the camp ;
“ they found Dumouriez disturbed and melan-
“ choly. ‘ Are you come to arrest me ?’
“ ‘ By no means, we bring you orders from the
“ convention.’ Camus read the decree which
“ ordered him to the bar. Dumouriez refused
“ to go to Paris ; he declaimed against Marat
“ and the Jacobins. In the mean time all com-
“ munication was cut off between the commis-
“ sioners and the army. Baptiste, Dumou-
“ riez's valet de chambre, ran in, quite out of
“ breath, and exclaimed ; ‘ While you are de-
“ liberating here, the enemy is advancing in
“ three columns.’ The commissioners ordered
“ this man to be arrested. ‘ What ! said Beur-
“ nonville, it is past six o'clock in the evening,
“ and the enemy are advancing !’—‘ Go and
“ see

“ see what is passing,’ said Dumouriez to an old
“ officer who could scarcely walk. In the mean
“ time the commissioners returned to the attack.
“ They assailed Dumouriez on the side of prin-
“ ciple ; they told him that a general could not
“ judge the laws, and that as his army belonged
“ to the republic, he ought not to give any orders
“ contrary to her laws. They placed before his
“ eyes the example of La Fayette, abandoned by
“ his foldiers, as soon as they suspected him of
“ treachery. Dumouriez replied, that France
“ was hastening to her ruin, and he wished to
“ save her ; he asked who would deliver his army
“ from the peril which menaced it, attacked as
“ it was by an immense cavalry? ‘ I will,’ re-
“ plied Beurnonville. ‘ That is to say, you
“ are come to supplant me in my command,’
“ quickly retorted Dumouriez. He constantly
“ repeated that they wished to assassinate him at
“ Paris. Quinette and Lamarque offered to ac-
“ company him. He honoured them with the
“ epithet of assassins. At length he exhorted the
“ commissioners to retire to Valenciennes.

“ Eight o’clock approached ; the commission-
“ ers entered a cabinet, and thence they issued a
“ decree by which Dumouriez was suspended
“ from all his functions ; and Valence, whose
“ perfidy

“ perfidy they did not suspect, was named as
“ his successor. They returned to the saloon,
“ which was filled with the officers of the Etat-
“ major, and Dumouriez at their head. The
“ commissioners ordered Valence to come for-
“ ward. A profound silence was observed by
“ the officers. *Camus*, addressing himself to
“ *Dumouriez*: You know the decree which
“ orders you to the bar?—*Dumouriez*. No.—
“ *Camus*. You then set at nought the law?—
“ *Dumouriez*. I am necessary to the army.—
“ *Camus*. We order seals to be put on your
“ papers.—*Dumouriez*. Let them be taken
“ care of.—*Camus*. In consequence of your
“ disobedience to the law, we declare you sus-
“ pended.—*The Officers*. Suspended! So are
“ we all; they are depriving us of our general,
“ of our father.—*Dumouriez*. It is time to
“ bring this to a conclusion; officers, do your
“ duty.—At this moment the hussars advanced,
“ and surrounded the representatives, and they
“ were made prisoners. ‘Come, my dear Beur-
“ nonville,’ said *Dumouriez* to him, as he took
“ him by the hand, ‘you are likewise arrested.’

“ An order for departure was given. We de-
“ manded the order in writing: ‘Go,’ said *Du-*
“ *mouriez* to his satellites, ‘and if they refuse to
“ obey,

“ obey, employ force.” We departed in three
“ carriages, the night was dark; they took a
“ winding road.—‘ Where are they leading ?’—
“ To Valenciennes, said the adjutant, whose name
“ was Rainville.—‘ Take care,’ said Beurnon-
“ ville, ‘ if you deceive me, I will shoot you on
“ the spot.’ The adjutant, who knew Beurnonville
“ to be a man of his word, quitted the carriage
“ a few moments after, under pretence of satisf-
“ fying a natural want. He followed us on
“ horseback. Beurnonville said to the coach-
“ man, ‘ Where are we going?’—‘ To Romilly,’
“ replied the man, who was not in the secret.
“ That was the road to Tournay. Beurnon-
“ ville then said, ‘ The escort is small, I do
“ not believe there are more than 25 men: my
“ sabre cuts well, I will go and disperse them.’
“ No sooner said than done: he got out of the
“ carriage, and darted on them like lightning.
“ At the first blow he struck down the officer:
“ the whole troop immediately came up: it
“ consisted of 200 men. Beurnonville was
“ attacked, many blows were aimed at him:
“ he parried them with his sabre: at length, he
“ received a great wound in his thigh, and
“ being forced to yield, he re-entered the car-
“ riage.

“ We

“ We arrived at Tournay; the huffars of
“ Berchini quitted us, and gave us into the
“ hands of the dragoons of Latour. The
“ treachery was completed: we were announced
“ to Clairfayt. We cannot, said he, refuse the
“ good which is offered us. It was not thus
“ that Camillus replied to the school-master of
“ Falerii, when he brought the children of the
“ citizens entrusted to his care, before him as
“ prisoners; but Camillus was a republican,
“ and a commander of Roman troops, and
“ Clairfayt.

“ An officer said to one of us, who was
“ speaking to him with his hat on, ‘ Sir, equality
“ is not admitted here. Know that I am of
“ the Etat-major.’ ‘ I am glad to hear it,’ re-
“ plied the other, fixing his hat still tighter on
“ his head.

“ On their arrival at Mons, the commis-
“ sioners were informed, that they would be
“ detained as hostages for the Queen, and if her
“ life was attempted, they should answer for it
“ with their heads. Many of the Austrian
“ officers surrounded Beurnonville. ‘ Tell
“ Cobourg,’ said he, ‘ that a prince Eugene
“ would

“ would have set me at liberty : he detains me
“ because he is afraid of me.”

“ During the short stay which the prisoners
“ made at Brussels and Maestricht, they per-
“ ceived on one hand, that the emigrants were
“ spoken of with a sovereign contempt, and on
“ the other, that not only a misunderstanding
“ but a marked hatred subsisted between the
“ Austrians and Prussians.”

Lamarque, one of the representatives detained
in Austria, presented the sequel of the report
begun by Camus. “ On the 13th of May
“ 1793, the prisoners quitted Maestricht, and
“ were carried to Aix-la-Chapelle. They re-
“ fused to receive the visit of the Prince of
“ Hesse : they were assailed by the hootings of
“ a crowd of emigrants. The Austrian officers
“ who commanded their escort favoured, nay
“ excited those insults. They passed the Roer
“ in order to proceed to Juliers : but the
“ Elector of Bavaria refused them a passage.
“ At Cologne, they were visited by colonel
“ Hullins, who spoke of the French with ap-
“ probation.

“ From Bonn, they went to Coblenz, passed
“ the Rhine, and were shut up in the citadel of
“ Herbernstein: they were conducted to a pri-
“ son, where the only furniture they found was
“ two bundles of straw and a wooden chair.

“ Bournonville and his aides-de-camp, were
“ heaped together in a room of 12 feet; on the
“ walls of each chamber, the process of the
“ severest punishments was delineated. They
“ were prohibited from having the least inter-
“ course with any person whatsoever. They
“ were refused permission to go out, or to take
“ the air. They insisted on having some alle-
“ viation of their hard fate. Consultations
“ were held, and letters written to Vienna; at
“ length orders arrived, allowing them to walk
“ two hours in the week. This permission
“ diminished the horrors of their captivity, by
“ procuring the prisoners the consolation of
“ seeing each other on the upper part of the
“ citadel.”

The remainder of this report containing no-
thing very interesting, we shall proceed to the
relation made by Drouet of his detention.
Drouet, who afterwards ————, but let us

not

not anticipate events, being named commissioner with Bar and More, for the army of the North, went to Maubeuge. This town could not make a long resistance; an officer presented himself to the commissioners, and informed them, that he was determined to perform a brilliant exploit, to traverse the enemy's camp at the head of 25 brave men, and to go to Paris, to give intelligence to the convention of the pressing wants of a place, the capture of which would open the frontiers to the Austrians.

Before the enemy had completed the circumvallation of the place; Drouet set out with a hundred brave fellows on horseback, on the 2d of Oct. 1793, at eleven o'clock at night. The watch-word was, *courage, François, ça-ira, maudit soit qui recule* *. "We advanced," said the speaker, "in good order, in the midst of the German battalions; I recommended to my troop to march with caution and in close ranks, for fear of being broken by the hollows: the neighing of our horses gave the alarm to the camp of infantry. We sustained their fire: our horses, animated by the musquetry, doubled their speed, and went on a full

* *Courage, Français, ça-ira, cursed be the man who flinches.*

“ gallop. What I had foreseen happened, we
“ fell into a fosse; I was one of the number.
“ I rose immediately, and seized the first horse
“ which came to my hands. The night was
“ obscure, a dragoon exclaimed, ‘ *You are taking*
“ *my horse, will you leave me in the midst of the*
“ *enemy?*’ I took him up behind me: five
“ minutes elapsed in the interval, and I found
“ myself at a distance from my detachment; I
“ could not overtake it. Behold me then alone;
“ what could I do? I determined to make
“ for Mons. ‘ Yes,’ said the man who rode
“ behind me, ‘ I know where the Sambre is
“ fordable; we will pass it.’ I consented: we
“ fell in with a detachment of hussars: I cried
“ out, ‘ Who are they?’ ‘ They are enemies,’
“ said the dragoon, ‘ we must surrender.’ ‘ Why
“ do you talk of surrendering? We must pass
“ through the midst of the enemy, or perish.’
“ I exclaim, ‘ Here! dragoons.’ The enemy,
“ thinking that I was followed by my troop,
“ retired. I profited of the occasion, and spurred
“ my horse on both sides; he was an excellent
“ one, and, animated by the whistling of the
“ balls, he took flight, and we were both precipi-
“ tated into a hollow. The horse was wound-
“ ed; he rose, and fled into the country, leav-
“ ing me stretched at my length without any
“ sense.

“ sense. They came up with me. ‘ *Who are*
“ *you ?* ’ ‘ A French officer.’ They carried me
“ off, and procured me assistance. ‘ *What is your*
“ *rank ?* ’ Pressed by this question, I replied,
“ ‘ I am a representative of the French people.’
“ ‘ *What is a representative of the French people ?* ’
“ I replied, ‘ If the emperor was made prisoner,
“ as he represents the German nation, he would
“ be treated with respect. I am in the same
“ situation.’ They then paid me some respect ;
“ but as soon as they knew that my name was
“ Drouet, and that it was I who stopped the
“ last tyrant at Varennes, ill treatment succeed-
“ ed to respect. They stripped me naked, and
“ loaded my hands and feet with chains. I
“ was carried in a cart, and in that state was
“ made a spectacle to the whole Austrian camp.
“ That ceremony lasted two days. Hootings
“ and insults attended me : I received them
“ with the calmness of a republican, and gloried
“ in them. I had not eaten for eight-and-forty
“ hours ; I asked for a morsel of bread : they
“ replied, ‘ No, miscreant ; it is not worth
“ while to give it you ; your sentence will soon
“ be passed.’ ‘ Patience,’ said I to myself, ‘ the
“ generals and princes will undoubtedly be more
“ humane.’ I was conducted to Colloredo : he
“ received me with all the severity of a tyrant ;

“ he reproached me with the perfidy of the French
“ nation ; and said, there was no reliance on
“ their promises. As a proof of it, he cited
“ the instance of the garrison of Mayence, who,
“ contrary to the terms of the capitulation, had
“ been sent into La Vendée. ‘ We never ima-
“ gined,’ I replied, ‘ that the emperor had de-
“ graded himself so far as to coalesce with
“ rebels, and make a common cause with them.’
“ ‘ Weigh your words,’ said he, ‘ and learn to
“ respect crowned heads ; kings form alliances,
“ and never coalitions.’

“ I was then led to general Latour : I was
“ half naked, and had my hands and feet loaden
“ with heavy chains ; my hair was dishevelled,
“ and my head swollen and still bloody from
“ my fall. The sight of me would have instilled
“ pity into the heart of the most cruel hang-
“ man ; it inspired Latour with fury and rage :
“ he seized me by the throat, spat in my face,
“ and addressed me in these words : *Monster,*
“ *we have you now ; you shall suffer the punish-*
“ *ment due to your crimes.* And, turning to
“ his attendants, he said, ‘ There is no punish-
“ ment cruel enough for the expiation of all the
“ enormities which this abandoned wretch has
“ committed.’ ‘ You would not dare to hold
“ such

“ such language to me,” said I, “ if I were free,
“ and had arms in my hands.” Latour ordered
“ me to be chained more strongly.

“ I was transported to Brussels : they cast me
“ into a damp dungeon : I was stretched on a
“ little straw. I was kept in solitude, and pre-
“ vented from shaving my beard and cutting
“ my nails : they wished to make a monster of
“ me fit to frighten the people. I remained in
“ that condition until the moment when our
“ brave volunteers, having attacked the Austri-
“ ans at the point of the bayonet, cleared the
“ frontiers of their presence. Then only did
“ the emperor give orders to soften the horrors
“ of my captivity.

“ I was transferred to the prison of Spielberg,
“ and was there treated with all the attention
“ due to my character. That fortress, built
“ on the declivity of a rock, is raised 200 feet
“ above the level of a river which runs in the
“ valley, and which serves as a fosse to it. I
“ there passed the winter : but I was soon wea-
“ ried of the cruel inaction in which I languish-
“ ed. My captivity became insupportable ; I
“ resolved to terminate it, and to escape. I set
“ myself to work, and, after two months labour

“ I forced my prison. I had no tools: necessity, the mother of industry, supplied me with them. I had curtains to my windows: the iron rods on which they run were supported by bars of iron. I took them off, and by their aid I burst the cramp-irons of the grated windows. With these iron bars I could have destroyed, in a short time, the whole fortress. (*Here was a loud laugh.*) I soon demolished the masonry in which the bars which detained me prisoner were fastened. The fortress, as I have said, was situate on the declivity of the rock: there lay the path, and I could not go by it, without being stopped by the sentinels, who were placed at short distances from each other. On the other side the rock was perpendicular, and rose 200 feet from the valley through which the river ran. This passage alone was open for my flight: but a rope was necessary; I had none; I determined to cast myself headlong from top to bottom. Necessity suggested to me the idea of making myself wings. The paper kite of children struck my imagination forcibly. I thought that, by making a similar one, and holding it strongly in my hands, the resistance of the air would break the impetuosity of my fall; besides, I
“ hoped

“ hoped that the novelty of the spectacle would
“ intimidate my guards. When arrived on the
“ banks of the river, I proposed to throw my-
“ self into a boat which was constantly there,
“ and suffer myself to be carried along in the
“ stream of the Danube, and so reach Constan-
“ tinople. I had neither thread, scissars, nor
“ needle : industry provided me with them all.
“ I untwisted the threads of my caps, a carp’s
“ bone supplied me with a needle, and I made
“ a knife out of the pointed end of my snuffers,
“ which I sharpened on a brick.” (Here he
observed that he took care to put every thing
in its place, and to fasten the stones he had re-
moved with clay, that nothing might be per-
ceived.) “ The 8th of July was the day
“ destined for my departure. I several times
“ essayed my *parachute* in my chamber : by its
“ aid I easily descended eight feet. I believed
“ it would secure me ; but, unfortunately for
“ me, I resolved to take a bundle containing
“ some clothes and provisions. It weighed
“ between 25 and 30 pounds : I did not dare
“ to throw it down, for fear that the noise it
“ would make in falling should discover my
“ project. I determined to carry it with me.
“ I got out of my window upon the terrace,
“ and prepared myself to leap from thence into
“ the

" the valley. Twice nature shuddered within
 " me; at length I precipitated myself: I per-
 " ceived that my fall was accelerated: I gave
 " myself over for lost. I fell upon a wall: my
 " foot was terribly bruised: I felt no pain; but
 " when I attempted to throw myself down once
 " more, my foot refused to support me, and
 " I fell.

" The sentinel, as I had foreseen, was so
 " alarmed by my fall, that he took refuge in
 " the guard-room; and, in spite of my griev-
 " ous cries, no one came near me till sun-rise.
 " They carried me back to my chamber, where
 " they left me eight hours without assistance,
 " hoping that I should die in consequence of
 " my fall; but as I did not die, they at length
 " sent me a surgeon. I was three months ill,
 " walking with crutches. At last I received
 " intelligence of my wife and children. I owed
 " the mitigation of my lot to the success of the
 " republican armies. I learned that they had
 " triumphed, in spite of the coalesced monarchs.
 " My liberty was restored to me."

The pride of the crowned despots was at
 length forced to begin to acknowledge the French
 republic. Not only the exchange of the de-
 puties

panies made prisoners by Dumouriez's treachery, for the daughter of Louis XVI.* that unfortunate remnant of the blood of so many kings, but also the ambassadors sent to France by the sovereigns of Prussia, Spain, and Tuscany, prove that the republic and her representatives have already caused their power to be respected, and their dignity acknowledged.

The legislative body employed itself at length on the great and delicate question of the liberty of the press; a question, from which three national assemblies had already shrunk with fear. Several orators, and, among others, Louvet, and Jean de Brie, asserted the necessity of restraining the licentiousness of incendiary libels, by means of which the anarchists of Prairial would be emboldened to demand again the head of another Ferraud, and the royalists of Vendémiaire would prepare another scene of murder and carnage. Pastoret and Lemerer defended the principle with great strength of logic. Doulcet attacked the various errors without heat,

* It is to be presumed that Robespierre intended to marry the daughter of Louis XVI. He went twice to the Temple to see her. This project of the tyrant's saved the Princess's life: for it is probable that the Dauphin took slow poison, though a *procès-verbal* seems to prove the contrary.

analysed the discordant opinions, and proved that they were not far from agreement. It was perceived that some additions to the penal code were the only remedies for the evils which were complained of. It was still necessary to draw up the law with such precision, that writers might not be exposed to the arbitrary will of tyranny. Baudin des Ardennes, a member of the council of ancients, is the person who appears to have written best on the question. "When I see," says he, "the shades of those illustrious victims, of those
" 22 deputies who were the first victims of the
" tyranny, and who, it is said, were so from the
" effects of the liberty of the press, invoked with
" so much eloquence and sensibility, I wonder at
" the manner in which imagination leads on
" those who enjoy a justly merited reputation for
" talents and patriotism. In the time of the national convention, not more than a year since, when they began to have a taste for prohibitions, it was likewise said, that the right of carrying a sword was not a right of assassinating. 'If the thunderbolt,' says Pascal, 'were to fall in the lower places, poets and those who reason like them would fail in their proofs.' In fact, a metaphor is never a demonstration, although it very often dazzles those to whom it is offered as such; and this
" one

“ one fails in propriety. But admitting that the
“ press is a weapon, and that it always is so, I ask,
“ whether the use of arms should be prohibited,
“ because a wound may be inflicted by them,
“ unless the prohibition be general and extend-
“ ed to all? I ask, above all, why it is wished
“ that there should be a breast-plate for a few;
“ for this is the delicate point, and which it is
“ necessary to explain without evasion?

“ When they speak of a prohibitory law, with
“ regard to the press, the constituted authorities
“ will apparently reserve to themselves the right
“ of writing and publishing what they think
“ proper, as well in their own persons, as by the
“ agents whose pens they will employ; so that
“ the magistrate will have on his side the force of
“ law and of opinion against the citizen, reduced
“ to the incapacity of appealing to the public as
“ a judge between him and the person who may
“ be invested with authority. Where will the
“ doctrine which they pretend is to strengthen
“ government lead us? To oppression.

“ There will no longer exist a republic or a
“ democracy, if all resort to the people be taken
“ away; and the resort is only to be found in an
“ appeal to public opinion by means of the press.

“ The

“ The republican constitution of 1795 has not
 “ been the object of those emphatic demonstra-
 “ tions lavished without consideration on that of
 “ 1791; it has not been brought into the legi-
 “ slative body by the keeper of the archives,
 “ with a guard of honour and a procession of
 “ twenty-four old men; it has not been led in
 “ triumph, like that of 1793, to an ark, which
 “ has been found to be nothing but its funeral urn.
 “ Less pomp and more esteem is the fortunate
 “ lot of that of 1795. Yet, with whatever care
 “ the powers may be at once divided and regu-
 “ lated, it may happen, if they do not adhere to
 “ this common resource, to the precious liberty
 “ of the press, that we may have run over the
 “ links of the whole chain of powers, without
 “ obtaining justice.

“ If I am oppressed by the municipal admini-
 “ stration, I must have recourse to that of the de-
 “ partment; it may be weak, prejudiced, or ne-
 “ gligent. I then address myself to the minister
 “ of the interior; but he will be forced to con-
 “ sult these very administrations who may de-
 “ ceive him. I then go to the directory; but
 “ how is it possible to require of them to enter
 “ into the detail of all private affairs? I pre-
 “ sent a petition to the legislative body; it will,
 “ with

" with reason, remand it to the government
 " which I have vainly invoked. Where then is
 " the security for my liberty? In the incontest-
 " ible, imprescriptible, illimitable right, which
 " the social compact infuses me of interesting all
 " my fellow-citizens in my cause; of making
 " them my judges, by the sound of my com-
 " plaints, which I shall print. That, certainly,
 " is the safeguard of a citizen, which is dreaded,
 " not only by tyranny, but by presumption and
 " mediocrity. The liberty of the press shocks
 " them, because it brings in its train, what is to
 " them most formidable, and at the same time
 " most necessary, contradiction and censure.
 " It would be so agreeable to shut the hundred
 " mouths of Fame, which may every hour
 " choose to publish that we are deceiving our-
 " selves. What—we? Yes, you yourselves;
 " and it is because you are so little disposed to
 " believe it, that it becomes necessary to warn
 " you of it. This may be too true; but sup-
 " pose they should choose to ridicule us? Ci-
 " tizens, I can conceive the whole extent of such
 " a danger; I am as much affected with your
 " alarm as I can be, but it is the price to be paid
 " for the general liberty.

" It

“ It has been said a thousand times, that it
“ was not by their writings that Marat and He-
“ bert would have become formidable, if any
“ others besides themselves, and men like them,
“ could have written freely. Their execrable in-
“ fluence was derived from the revolutionary
“ tribunal; and, more especially, from the too
“ unlimited liberty of the *press for assignats*,
“ with which they formed the revolutionary
“ army, caused the constitution of 1793 to be
“ accepted, subsidized thousands of agitators,
“ published so many terrible journals, paid the
“ hootings of the *inhabitants* of the tribunes in
“ the convention, and, in short, brought on that
“ deluge of evils which nearly overwhelmed us.

“ Behold the constituent assembly so majestic,
“ so faithful to its principles, and so superior to the
“ attacks made on it in the *Acts of the Apostles*,
“ that it suffered it to be sold publicly in its ave-
“ nues. Follow, on the contrary, the tyrants
“ in their resentments, and you will find them
“ implacable towards writers; see under Robe-
“ spierre, André Chenier sacrificed for articles he
“ inserted in the *Journal de Paris* against Brissot,
“ who fell a victim for his *Patriote François*.
“ Condorcet, Ducos, Rabot, ye were offered up
“ as

“ as a sacrifice, not because filthy reptiles, wal-
 “ lowing in the mire of immorality, had pub-
 “ lished disgusting papers, but because ye had all
 “ laboured in that *Chronicle*, abhorred by the
 “ monster, because it had not spared him. And
 “ you Lareveillère-Lepaux, whom I esteem
 “ enough to name even while you govern,
 “ were you not reduced to the necessity of flying
 “ from the pursuit which threatened your life so
 “ long, for your article of *Cromwellism* inserted
 “ in the same journal?

“ Will tyranny, always clouded, suspicious,
 “ and distrustful, not being able to conceal from
 “ herself that she is the object of general execra-
 “ tion, leave a free course to the public voice
 “ from which she can expect nothing but re-
 “ proaches? He who has nothing to fear from
 “ report will not undertake to stop its career.

“ What! they exclaim, shall the journals of
 “ *Chouannerie* and anarchy still continue to at-
 “ tack the legislature and the government with
 “ impunity? In truth, citizens, it appears to me
 “ that you have very little reliance on the stabi-
 “ lity of the republic and the constitution, if
 “ you tremble for its fate on the perusal of a
 “ pamphlet. Europe combined against us flies

“ before our warriors, and shall a journal, shall
“ twenty journals give you alarm? I feel regret
“ that you force me to recall to your recollection
“ what the ancient government suffered Figaro
“ to say on the stage: That it is only little men
“ who fear little writings.

“ Citizens, whoever you may be, renounce the
“ hope of stifling truth. Suffer it to have free
“ vent. It will have it in spite of you, in spite
“ of your efforts, your power, and your sophisms.
“ You who dread that the journalists should per-
“ vert the public opinion, remember they are in
“ your hands. Give them happiness, lay the
“ foundations for it at least; let every day pro-
“ duce to the country some new pledge of your
“ wisdom, of your talents, and your virtues.
“ The liberty of the press will be abused occa-
“ sionally, as health, fortune, knowledge, and
“ power, are abused; yet their abuse does not
“ render their utility doubtful. The abuse of
“ the press should be, I allow, severely re-
“ strained. The distribution of *l'Eclaireur*
“ would have been properly stopped; to circu-
“ late a writing, which, bearing the name neither
“ of author or printer, offered no security for its
“ contents, was an offence worthy of punish-
“ ment. I hate the coward who thus strikes in
“ the

" the dark, and I should applaud his chastise-
 " ment. As to those who sign their names, or
 " who at least give an address by pointing out the
 " printer, what are the public accusers doing,
 " and why do they not prosecute them? I
 " should not be the person to ask impunity for
 " crimes which fill me with horror. In every
 " thing where opinion only is concerned, on
 " the contrary, I maintain that the freedom of
 " writing is the only safeguard of the public li-
 " berty." Thanks to the council of five hun-
 dred, our independence is now assured, as they
 have asserted, in all its purity, the principle which
 is its firmest support.

The committee appointed for the classification
 of the laws, had entrusted to them the office of
 adding or rather of proposing an addition to the
 penal code, relative to the offences which might
 originate under cover of the liberty of the press.
 Those restrictive measures, which reconcile what
 is due to the freedom of writing, and what to the
 country, were decreed in the sitting of the 27th
 Germinal following (April 16). The punish-
 ment of death was decreed against those, who by
 their speeches or writings, whether printed or
 posted up, should urge the dissolution of the na-
 tional representation or of the directors, the mur-

der of all or any one of the members, the re-establishment of royalty, of the constitution of 1793, the agrarian law, &c.

The festivals of a nation which has just seen the birth of liberty, deserve to fix the attention of a sagacious observer. The festival of youth was celebrated on the 10th Germinal (March 30). This happy idea was borrowed from the ancient republics. The Athenians, in like manner, celebrated their feasts of youth in the spring season. That ingenious people followed the rules of a profound policy in the institution of these truly national solemnities. A festival was destined to consecrate the memory of the victory at Marathon. Games were celebrated in the Ceramicus in honour of those citizens who died with arms in their hands. Another festival was instituted in memory of the union of the various towns of the Attic people. They had the feasts of the muses in honour of the fine arts; of women, in honour of the matrons; of the hours, to consecrate the employment of time; of the seed-time and harvest, in honour of agriculture. We have already spoke of their Olympic games, and of many others which are well known. It is remembered what an energetic and affecting picture Rousseau, that god of eloquence, has drawn in

in his works of the republican festivals of Geneva, of which he had been spectator in his infancy, and the remembrance of which followed him even in the turbulence of Paris, and at the moment of his greatest celebrity. We have acted right in adopting these ancient institutions; liberty and manners cannot but gain by them. In the month Floreal the feast of marriage was celebrated. The character of these festivals is august and affecting; but the time did not appear to be propitious. The public spirit is too degraded at this moment, too perverted by fanaticism and malevolence, which take advantage of the misfortunes of the times to *chouanize* and royalize France. We believe that it would have been more politic, and that the great effects which these republican feasts were expected to produce, would have been better secured, if they had not been instituted till the establishment of peace, and at a time when the misery of the people being no longer the same, they would have been disposed to participate in them with enthusiasm.

It has been seen in the preceding book, that the convention had struck a great blow at the self-called popular societies. The legislative body has also taken this object into consideration; it has been discovered, that these societies

were like men of too ardent minds, excellent for effecting and commencing a revolution, but very mischievous, when the only question is to consolidate and secure it on the eternal basis of justice and social order. We shall have nothing more to fear from these exclusive patriots, from these *patriotissimes*, who, by wishing to push every thing to the extreme, hazard the ruin of every thing; and who prolonged the existence of the revolutionary torrent, and of the destructive scourge of the tyranny of the demagogues, the most cruel, the most insupportable, and the most extravagant of all.

The legislature has put in motion the national institute, and is beginning to organise the central schools. It is to be hoped that this institute will not imitate the ancient academy, which was not wise enough to appropriate to itself either Malebranche or Descartes, or Pascal, or the two Rousseaus, or the author of *Metromanie*; which refused the prize of poetry to Voltaire, and bestowed it on the work of an author below mediocrity. When we survey the members who already compose this institute, we observe with regret that, though it includes many men of eminence, they are very far from supplying the place of Buffon, Fontenelle, Montesquieu, Corneille, and

and Racine, those giants of the great age of literature, those immortal men who sat in the same place. There are great talents among them; but one is astonished at seeing a Chenier by the side of a Lebrun, *i. e.* mediocrity by the side of genius. Legouvé, the author of *Epicbaris* and *Néro*, deserved that place much more than Chenier. Lacroix, the author of the *History of the Constitution of all Nations*, should have been preferred to other writers, his inferiors. The world has been still more astonished to hear read at the first public sitting of that institute, some verses unworthy Colin Harleville, their author; nothing can be imagined less poetical; it may be estimated by the single epithet of *a worthy institute*. The remainder of the piece is written in the same feeble style.

The second public sitting of the national institute was much superior to the first. Two well written fables of Montvel's, and some beautiful verses of Ducis and Legouvé, were read. As to the arts and sciences, papers have been read, which afford the greatest expectations of the progress of the arts in their application to objects of utility.

The astronomers are sedulously employed in determining the arc of the meridian which will fix the fundamental unity of the new system of weights and measures.

The lyceum of the arts contributes very powerfully to their progress. We ought to transmit, as far as is in our power, to the remotest posterity, all the reports made by Gregoire to the convention, and the care which he took to preserve a great collection of books, and of monuments of the arts from the ravages of Vandalism, to obtain encouragement for men of letters, and in particular to gain support for the lyceum.

While the legislative body employed itself in the office of reviving the arts, and of supporting them against the attacks which had been made on them by those who wished to vandalize France, general Hoche, the conqueror at Quiberon, had the honour of terminating the execrable war of La Vendée, which, till that time, had appeared likely to be eternal; and which formed the principal hope of those who wished to vandalize the whole empire. He marched into those unhappy countries, holding in one hand the olive of peace; in the other, the sword of Bellona.

The capture of the two principal leaders of the rebels, Stofflet and Charette, put an end to this bloody contest between the government and the fanatics and royalists, on the other side the Loire. These are two remarkable events, and probably decisive against the authors of the troubles of the interior. Like Pompey, who freed the seas of Italy from the pirates who infested them, the brave Hoche will, if he is ordered by the government, complete the extirpation of royalist and demagogue assassins, the impious bands of Jesus and of the Sun, and the other banditti known by the name of Chouans. Stofflet and Charette were the only chiefs who had escaped the republican sword, of all who had begun or supported the horrible war in La Vendée. Stofflet was a man in whom the Vendéans had the greatest confidence; it was he who, together with the Sacristan Catherineau, had given the signal of this war; he was five feet four inches in height; and formerly huntsman to the Count of Maulevrier, who commanded one of the columns in *Vendemiaire*; he led the peasants to battle as he had his dogs to the chase of the wild boar. He did not love, he despised the nobility. The peasants respected him more, or rather feared him more on account

count of his brutality, than Beauchamp, Delbée, Lescure, and other chiefs, who were however much his superiors. Charette was 30 years of age, he was of a middling stature and delicate; he had a fierce air, and a firm eye: he was the most ambitious of men, and to his ambition the Vendéans attribute their first disasters. It was in consequence of the suggestion of his ambition, that he separated his division from the great catholic army, commanded by Delbée and Beauchamp, of whose talents he was jealous, and whose superiority he dreaded. This division of force, and the want of concert which was the consequence, produced the bloody, but glorious day to the republicans of Saint Symphorien; the capture of Chatillon on the 11th of Oct. 1793; and the decisive victory at Cholet, on the 17th. It also forced the immense wreck of this army to pass over to the right bank of the Loire; in this great army there was a body of 10,000 Bretons of the right bank, commanded by Beauchamp, the most able commander whom that war devoured. This man, whose great talents were so fatal to his country, had adopted the vast idea, which had been conceived several months previously by the Sacristan Catherineau, of exciting that part of Brittany which

which is on the right bank to revolt, and for that purpose he passed the Loire with his 10,000 Bretons, who were always victorious when he commanded them, and were always vanquished when he was not at their head. The great army was to remain on the left bank: this plan was put in execution by the 10,000 Bretons who forced the passage; but the great army having been defeated at Cholet, and being pressed by the republicans, by the immortal garrison of Mayence, and having lost its two chiefs, (Delbée was severely, and Beauchamp mortally wounded,) finding a passage made by the 10,000 Bretons, passed the Loire with them. Let us return to Charette; he had been lieutenant of a man of war; he was ferocious, and to threaten to send a prisoner to Charette, was to threaten him with death; he ordered friends and enemies on the slightest suspicion to be assassinated, nay, he would assassinate them himself in cold blood; his courage was invincible; he sustained a winter campaign against 30,000 men, with only 4 or 500 adventurers; he marched this feeble handful through the ruins of the great army which had not passed the Loire; or which might re-enter La Vendée after the discomfiture of Savenay. He succeeded, by his motions in collecting together a body of between 15 and

and 20,000 men. Stofflet was taken a short time before Charette; he had been discovered and apprehended in the asylum to which he had retired to take some repose. Charette was chased like a stag, and after having been pursued for six hours, he was taken prisoner by the brave and indefatigable Travot. These two rebel chiefs were shot at Nantes, after having been tried by martial law. Charette must have experienced bitter reflections on this second entry into Nantes; this entry was very different from that in which he had made the treaty of pacification; he was then mounted on a noble charger, followed by his etat-major, by the republican general Conclaux, and by the representatives sent on missions into the departments of the west; he had the air of a triumphant conqueror; and it was not indeed a small triumph for him to be treated as the equal of the deputies of a great nation. The last time he was clothed in a short jacket, with dirty and bloody pantaloons, his arm was in a sling, and his head bound round with a handkerchief; his beard was long, his face pale, and his air dejected; he was led through the streets surrounded by republican bayonets, and preceded by martial music. This march, which the generosity that ought to be observed towards a vanquished enemy, would not permit

permit us to approve under other circumstances, was without doubt intended to drive from its last entrenchment, the real or pretended incredulity of those who obstinately denied that this chief had been taken.

It was believed that the termination of the war of La Vendée had destroyed all the seeds of civil war; but *Chouannerie*, which is nothing but the royalism of La Vendée under another name, and the perpetual re-action of the irascible and inflammable people of the south, exposed the country to new dangers. Russia, that colossal power which had just devoured Poland, may attack us in concert with England and Austria, in consequence of a secret treaty concluded between those three powers; but if we can appease the troubles of the interior, we have little to dread from the Russian troops. They would meet their ruin in France, as the Prussians met their's in the plains of Champagne. There is a much greater peril which threatens the republic; I mean the incredible dearth of all the objects of the first necessity; the sublime patience of the French, with regard to this scarcity, has displayed a virtue in them, which they were not suspected of possessing. What people can be more gentle, more amiable, or more sanguine,

sanguine, when they are not excited and deceived
 by wicked men? The labourer, emboldened
 and favoured too much by the revolution, (for a
 cultivator should not possess more than a re-
 spectable mediocrity,) became the duke and peer
 of the revolution; he has demonstrated, but in
 all their hideous nakedness, and under the most
 ferocious aspect, all the egotism, all the harshness,
 and all the cupidity of wealth. The peasant
 has appeared more insolent, more savage, more
 antisocial, more truly counter-revolutionary,
 than aristocracy itself could have dared to hope.
 They wished to enjoy the advantages of the re-
 volution, and to let the whole weight fall on the
 towns: the government will never obtain in-
 ternal peace, nor procure plenty, till they have
 forced the labourers to obey the law. Rousseau
 has said; *man is born good, but men are wicked.*
 The conduct of the labourers and the farmers on
 the contrary leads us to believe, that man is born
 wicked, while he has an interest to be so, but
 that men become better when they are united in
 society: we find more sensibility and more hu-
 manity in the civilization of towns, than in the
 fields, where man lives in an isolated state; and
 where he approaches nearer to the state of na-
 ture.

The

The prodigious discredit of assignats was the cause of the dearness of provisions. We may attribute this discredit to various causes: the first was, the error committed by the convention in declaring, that the assignats with the royal head should no longer be taken as money, since this excited apprehensions, that they would soon do the same with the others; the second was, the having permitted the trade in gold and silver; and the third, the having too much stretched the revolutionary bow, and having ordered the Exchange, that hot-bed of stock-jobbing, to be opened. The depreciation was still more augmented by the great number of assignats which were issued. The annihilation of our finances was the greatest danger, to which the public welfare could be exposed. It forced the legislative body to burden those classes of society, which were most at their ease, with a forced loan of 600 millions* in specie, or 60,000 millions in assignats: but it suppressed at the same time the war tax, so badly contrived by the convention. They have since issued two thousand four hundred millions of territorial mandates; all the assignats were to be changed for mandates, at the rate of thirty for one, except the assignats of 50 sours and under, which were valued at one-tenth

* 25,000,000 l. sterling.

of their nominal value. Time alone will discover how far this measure will succeed: the bank proposed by Lafond Ladebat has always appeared to me the plan of reparation which ought to have been adopted.

We have experienced reverses on the side of the Rhine, and we have lost 60 leagues of territory; but reverses only enflame still more the courage of republicans; our armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Moselle and Rhine, recommence their triumphant march. We have 300,000 men, who are about to spread themselves like a torrent over the enemy's country. The army of Italy has already founded a prelude, by the most brilliant successes; we shall give an account of them in the following book. The Machiavelism of kings*, the corrupting gold of England, the disorganizing genius of Pitt, and the anarchical faction, which for a long time rose up by the side of the republicans, continually set afloat the dregs of the revolution; but we have now a wise and firm government, which will undoubtedly bend all

* Machiavel has developed the artifices, and the means of oppression employed by tyrants; he was an excellent citizen, and a good father; if he had intitled his book, *the Prince*, no one would have doubted the purity of his intentions.

the passions under the yoke of the law, will not connect itself with any party, and will equally restrain the terrorists and the reactionists, the old and new cut-throats. The royalists in consequence censure the executive directory, and the anarchists and ancient terrorists accuse it of royalism. They say that it is an aristocracy, a disguised royalty, an organized despotism. The result is, that our constitution has arrived at the just medium between the vices of democracy and the horrors of arbitrary power, since it is equally blamed by both parties. The government which is best adapted to a people so fickle as the French, is that in which there is a centre of units wisely counterbalanced. Such is the one established by our constitution, the work of good sense and probity. A third power to form the true legislative balance is only wanting. The public spirit (this is one of the happy consequences of our revolution) seems to be at an equal distance from submission to the yoke of a single man, and from the revolutionary fever: all the factions seem worn out with fatigue, except perhaps a few royalists, and the demagogue assassins of the South. There are no more revolutionary conquests to be expected; there will not be for a long time another 10th of August, 31st of May, or 9th Thermidor, unless there should be

hereafter found in the directory another Piss-tratus and another Robespierre, and in the legislative body another Marat. Thus every thing predicts the termination of our calamities, and the perfect establishment of the revolution. We shall see in the subsequent book how far these hopes have been realized.

We have already hazarded our opinion on the incorporation of the countries of Liege and Brabant with France; we look on that union as a perpetual germ of wars and national rivalry. Those people, if we except the people of Liege, do not appear ripe for liberty: in that agitation or effervescence which has been so improperly called the revolution of Brabant, the true cause of the insurrection was the resentment of the priests, in consequence of the administrative reforms of Joseph the Second, and their enforcement, which was indeed truly despotic. The really patriotic party, that of Vonk and Vander Mersch, shone out but for an instant, to be immediately oppressed by the party of Vander Noot and Van Eupen, and to see clerical intrigue destroy the weak edifice of liberty which they had cemented with their blood, and superstitious credulity again impose on an indolent and fanatical people a yoke which courage had broken.

The

The movement of the people of Liege has a better title to the name of a revolution, but its power was not equal to its energy ; and Prussian treachery, combined with the craft of sacerdotal vengeance, rendered the efforts of that people for liberty nugatory. The useless insurrection of Kosciuszko in Poland, which has just been blotted out from the number of the powers of Europe, is a proof that something more than courage and knowledge is requisite for the conquest of the sacred rights of humanity. The Dutch are not less indolent than the Brabanters; and if they are a little less susceptible of fanaticism, commercial avarice, and still more the want of military force, will not admit the hope of maintaining there a republican government. The Batavian convention, in our opinion, has no hopes but in their alliance with the French republic. That may entangle us in a war with the King of Prussia, who will wish to re-establish the Stadtholder in his functions and authority.

An event, worthy of having a place in the history of our revolution, has just happened to the regret of all the friends of the public welfare ; I mean the retirement of general Pichegru. This celebrated man was, like Jourdan, born in the class of plebeians. Both have placed their

names, before obscure, almost in the same rank with the great names of Turenne and Condé. Great talents, great courage, and an entire devotion to their country's cause, have distinguished both those generals. The fortunate chances and lucky circumstances of war have not failed them, nor have they failed to take advantage of those circumstances. These two men, who have equally fixed the attention of Europe, seem at present to share unequally the affection of the nation and the confidence of government. The motives of the retirement of one of these rivals in glory are inquired for, while the other still pursues his brilliant career. Both have received the just homage of the government. Jourdan, during the journey which he lately made to Paris, and Pichegru after his dismissal, were received by the directory and the ministry as two men ought, to be who have merited the national gratitude. The minister of the interior gave each of them an entertainment worthy of the minister of the arts. We do not believe that it is necessary to seek in the events of the end of the last campaign, and in our reverses before Mayence and Manheim, for the cause of a discontent, which would be as unjust as the effects of it would be impolitic and injurious to the interests. Tacitus says, " Such is the horrible
" condition

“ condition of the military profession: each
“ attributes to himself the honour of success; a
“ failure is imputed to a single man.” So far
from this maxim being applicable to general
Pichegru, as might be believed if we stopped
at the apparent result of his last operations, it
will be found that he has acquired, in the midst
of reverses, a glory independent of success, of
which envy cannot deprive him. All are
agreed in thinking, that the plan of the cam-
paign relative to the passage of the Rhine was
not the conception of the two generals princi-
pally entrusted with its execution. Both of them
manifested the same zeal, the same ardour to
overcome the first difficulties, and the same ob-
stinacy in attaining the principal object, that is
to say, the dispersion of Clairfayt’s army in the
upper country, between the Necker and the
Mein, the last victory, on which the fate of
Mayence depended. The most difficult part of
the developement of the attacks was reserved
for Pichegru. As to his operations on this side
the Rhine, the resources of his mind and his
prudent foresight are discovered in the difficult
retreat he made; by the skill with which he
chose the only advantageous position, that a
country, which continually became more and
more unfavourable, could allow him, until he ar-

rived at the lines of Gueich. This able manœuvre was seconded by general Jourdan's march, who kept between the Rhine and the Moselle, and covered Treves and Luxembourg. Never probably did courage do more honour to the French soldiery: laborious marches in a covered and almost impracticable country, in a bad season of the year, a dearth of provisions, hot and frequent battles, such were the obstacles they had to surmount. Pichegru supported gloriously, for the space of a month, the weight of the Imperial forces; and on that same theatre where the enemy believed that nothing remained for him but to determine the direction of his marches, he contrived to neutralize the effect of the victories which made so much noise at Vienna. Those who, not content with the able march of general Jourdan on the right wing of the enemy, and with his vigorous assaults on the Nahe, required nothing less of the two generals than a junction of their armies, and the total destruction of the superior forces of the enemy on this side the Rhine, can only justify their rash wishes, by daring to censure general Pichegru's retreat. The government, better informed on the subject, was enabled to judge, whether this junction could have been effected without abandoning, both above and below Manheim and Mayence,

Mayence, the positions to restrain the enemy, and prevent them from doing any thing of importance. The retreat of general Pichegru, after the blockade of Mayence was raised, and his various combats before the lines of Gueich, and on his left wing, as far as the head of the Vosges, in order to second the attacks of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, form one of the most remarkable and most glorious epochs in our history.

Although it does not form part of our plan to enter very fully into the detail of military transactions, which almost all resemble each other; and though we have announced to our readers that we should not minutely relate them, but when a battle should include any circumstance which might distinguish it from ordinary combats; in short, though it is still more contrary to the limits we have prescribed ourselves for giving the particular history of the campaigns of our generals; yet the retreat of general Pichegru, which has almost the air of a disgrace, his merit, his modesty, perhaps excessive, the isolated state to which he seems to have condemned himself, the desire we entertain to see him once more at the head of our armies, so often victorious under

his command, and the useful lessons and reflections which the survey of the two last campaigns of the army of the North commanded by Pichegru, lately published by general Sauviac, presents to our notice, are so many powerful motives to decide us to give an extract from that work, which appears to us as accurate as it is judicious. "The campaign of the Rhine," says the author, "is foreign to my purpose; I shall content myself on that head by doing justice, with general Pichegru himself, to the well-known talents of general Hoche; but I can expatiate, with a full knowledge of the subject, on the campaign in the North, where, by an uninterrupted series of victories, almost unknown through the modesty of the conqueror, and the hatred which the tyrant (Robespierre) bore him, we obtained the total expulsion of the enemy from the French territories, the capture of all the Netherlands, and the entire conquest of Holland. It has been wished to attribute the plan of this campaign to general Custine, who, on the contrary, received a similar one with great coldness, a short time before his tragical end. The plan of this skilful campaign in the North must be attributed to Carnot and Pichegru, because it is certain

“ certain that they had embraced the same idea;
“ and even if it were true that they had chosen
“ from among the great number presented to
“ them, they ought no less to be regarded as
“ the real authors of it, as in such a case there
“ is as much merit in making a good choice as
“ in forming the plan. Carnot undoubtedly
“ must have groaned at the prospect of the fatal
“ division which circumstances made necessary
“ in his plan. An irreparable deficit in the
“ acting forces prevented the execution of one of
“ its most essential parts : in fact, it principally
“ consisted in considering the whole space be-
“ tween the sea and the Rhine as one vast field
“ of battle. The army of the North was to
“ attack in crossing, to neglect the centre, and
“ assail the two wings ; which was to be done
“ by three armies of 50,000 men each, the cen-
“ tre one of which was to keep the enemy at
“ bay, while the two others attacked their wings
“ by the Lys and the Sambre ; while two ar-
“ mies of a smaller force, covered by the two
“ lateral armies, acting as a corps of observ-
“ ation, were to take possession of the fortified
“ places. At the same time, an army of 50,000
“ men was to defend the passage of the Rhine,
“ in order to prevent succours arriving to the
“ combined armies from the empire ; while the
“ army

“ army of the Moselle, nearly equal in strength,
“ gained Cobourg’s rear, and obliged him either
“ to retreat with speed, or to fight with a dou-
“ ble front, which, in both cases, insured his
“ total ruin. It was this army, destined to gain
“ Cobourg’s rear, which did not act, because
“ the army of the North, wanting necessaries,
“ they were obliged to reinforce it with the
“ army of the Moselle; a project which was
“ happily executed by general Jourdan. Such
“ is the history of the plan of that campaign,
“ on which it is time that our notions should
“ be settled.

“ I could expatiate, undoubtedly, with some
“ pleasure, on the victory of Meucron, so bloody,
“ and so obstinately disputed, where, in spite of
“ the courage of our columns, and the skilful
“ manœuvres of general Pichegru, all the va-
“ lour and intrepid coolness of general Mac-
“ donal were necessary to decide the victory, so
“ long in suspense, in our favour; and on that
“ of Courtrai, where, but for the unfortunate
“ accident which retarded the column destined
“ to attack the enemy’s right wing, Clairfayt
“ would have been hemmed in, and his retreat
“ rendered impossible.

“ I should

“ I should not forget the memorable victory
“ of Turcoing, where the enemy lost their best
“ troops, and almost all their artillery ; nor that
“ of Pont-à-Chain, where our columns, several
“ times repulsed, returned to the fight with fresh
“ ardour ; and where we remarked some of the
“ cavalry, whose limbs were dropping off, har-
“ ranging their comrades with serenity, and
“ inspiring them, in their eloquent agony, almost
“ with a desire of obtaining similar wounds.

“ Farther on, the republican army was seen,
“ in the space of two decades, to gain three
“ victories, remarkable for the importance they
“ were of in the sieges of Ypres, Longuema-
“ rane, Rotterdam, and Ouglede, in which our
“ troops fought with equal numbers, and in a
“ pitched battle.

“ Then would naturally succeed the glorious
“ battles of Deynse, of Malines, and Boxtel,
“ of Apelteren, at the time of the passage of the
“ Meuse ; and, lastly, the two celebrated vic-
“ tories on the ice. The conquest of Holland
“ was the consequence of these two last vic-
“ tories.

“ From

“ From the recital of these successes, I should
“ naturally turn to the list of the conquered
“ places ; Menin, Courtrai, Ypres, Ostend, the
“ isle of Cadzant, and l’Ecluse, where general
“ Moreau acquired great reputation. I could
“ dwell on the capture of Nieuport, the sur-
“ render of which was owing to the courage of
“ the representatives Lacombe Saint Michel
“ and Richard, who devoted themselves in that
“ event to a certain death, by daring to resist
“ the fatal decree, which prescribed the murder
“ of the prisoners*.

* The execution of this law, unknown to the most barbarous ages, and far beyond the ferocious invention of the Visconti and of the Adrets, whose fury at least seemed legitimate, from the necessity of reprisals, would have made the enemy almost invincible from despair ; but, in the eyes of Robespierre, this reason was a crime, which would have ruined those who should have dared to take it into consideration, if the 9th Thermidor had not come to their assistance, at the very moment when the tyrant had just pronounced their sentence of death, by turning their generous devotion of themselves into a conspiracy. Their destruction would soon have been followed by that of the representative Carnot. It is recollected, to his honour, that having made the tyrant sensible that the preservation of 6000 men was the consequence of this wise disobedience, he had this brutal reply made to him, “ Of what importance are 6000 men, “ when a principle is in question ?” By this word *principle*, he meant his secret views.

“ I should

“ I should observe that, until the arrival of
“ general Jourdan, that is to say, until the
“ junction of the army of the Moselle, the
“ whole success of the right wing was the conse-
“ quence of general Pichegru's orders and in-
“ structions, which were performed with so
“ much zeal and bravery by general Desjardins,
“ commander of that wing.

“ I should add, that the battle of Turcoing
“ appears to me to be one of the most illustri-
“ ous in modern history. There we saw gene-
“ rals beaten in the evening, after the exam-
“ ple of the illustrious Frederick, remaining in
“ the field of battle, and determining to attack
“ the enemy again on the morrow, when they
“ gained a victory, the more complete, as the
“ combined armies lost more than 12,000 men,
“ and almost all their artillery. This memo-
“ rable day certainly saved France ; because the
“ plan sagaciously concerted by general Mack,
“ though chalked out on the famous circle of
“ Vendome, tended to nothing less than to cut
“ off the communication of our army with the
“ frontiers, and, consequently, to force it to re-
“ treat to Cassel, where the enemy, by favour
“ of its double movement by Seclin, might
“ have

“ have overtaken it, or at least make it wander
“ the sport of chance through a country in de-
“ vastation, and without resource, by blockad-
“ ing Lille at the same time, which was without
“ provisions, and all its communications would
“ have been intercepted, from the very circum-
“ stances of the victory. This bloody day, so
“ glorious for France, laid the foundation of all
“ the successes of the campaign in a most effi-
“ cacious manner, as the loss of artillery, irre-
“ parable for the enemy, gave us for ever a
“ superiority in those engines, so decisive in
“ battle.

“ Why then is not so signal a victory always
“ classed with the three which are cited with
“ enthusiasm? Because the conqueror, solely
“ occupied in fighting and pursuing the enemy,
“ transmitted such modest accounts, that the
“ public, always accustomed to exaggerated re-
“ ports, scarcely could perceive success in the
“ official narration of his brilliant victories; and
“ because the agents of the decemviral tyranny,
“ exasperated at his triumphs, carefully sought
“ to deprive him of his deserts in the public
“ opinion, as they could not do so on the field
“ of battle.

“ The

“ The enemies of Pichegru pretended that he
“ had orders to besiege Condé and Valenciennes,
“ when he advanced to the attack of Menin
“ and Courtrai; though there is an interval of
“ four months between those two epochs. How
“ could the enemies of the general believe it
“ possible to make one of the finest manœuvres
“ of the war, the famous diversion on the side
“ of Menin and Courtrai, appear as a proof of
“ a want of military skill? while it was the
“ principal source of the success of so astonish-
“ ing a campaign.

“ This able movement, made on the right
“ wing of the enemy, together with a simulta-
“ neous one on their left wing, on the part of
“ Beaumont, forced Cobourg to evacuate the cen-
“ tre, in order to preserve his communications
“ and his convoys, on the eve of being inter-
“ cepted, in consequence of the positions which
“ our armies were taking upon the Lys, the
“ Escaut, the Sambre, and the Haisne; this
“ retrograde motion of the enemy, forced by
“ the movement of the two wings, secured the
“ surrender of four places in the centre. A
“ skilful manœuvre in like manner delivered
“ into our hands, shortly after, four places in
“ Dutch

“ Dutch Flanders, which also found themselves
“ without hopes of succour, from the position
“ of the army on the right shore of the Escaut.

“ The bold marches of the army, always ani-
“ mated by the same genius, soon procured, by
“ a sudden stroke, the surrender of all the
“ places which remained to be conquered in his
“ command; for, at the very moment when
“ Mollendorf, on the Rhine, dared not pass
“ that river on account of the ice, which cover-
“ ed an extent of more than twenty leagues
“ from Arnheim to Willemstad, he advanced to
“ strike at the Batavian republic, even in the
“ heart of its government.

“ And it is this general who conceived such
“ skilful ideas, whom these envious men wish to
“ tax with unskilfulness; and why? Because he
“ did not substitute, in the room of these sublime
“ conceptions, the notions suggested by routine,
“ of amusing himself, first, with the sieges of
“ Valenciennes and Condé, from whence he
“ could not, till after a number of almost im-
“ possible victories, have approached to the
“ centre, where all the forces of the republic
“ would have been uselessly assembled.

“ It must also be observed, that this move-
“ ment was not the only cause of the continual
“ defeats of the allies ; new and very ingenious
“ tactics contributed much to that effect. The sys-
“ tem of disembarking in an intersected country,
“ where carriage was extremely expensive and
“ difficult, gave presently a superiority to the
“ republican armies in their marches, the rapid-
“ ity and secrecy of which, the consequence of
“ the new mode established for expediting the
“ orders, secured to the generals the incalculable
“ advantage of surprizing the allies on all occa-
“ sions, and of directing the attacks at pleasure
“ to the different parts of the line, without af-
“ fording the enemy time to change their order
“ of battle, as was constantly the practice until
“ our times.”

As long as men shall attempt to stir the dregs
of the revolution, and above all, as long as they
shall seek to make in the assembly motions cal-
culated to irritate the factious, and to make the
legislative body governors, so long will our evils
and our divisions be perpetuated. Thus the
motion of the deputy Jourdan, seconded by Is-
nard, proposing to have a committee named to
make a report on the situation and the troubles
of the South, was a brand of discord thrown

into the legislative body. It has served to awaken the fury of the parties in the South. On the one hand the royalists are again in agitation, and the homicidal air, the *Reveil du peuple*, has been heard once more ; at this death-song blood has again been spilt ; many commissioners or agents of the executive power have been massacred in different communes. On the other hand the opposite party, that is to say, the *exalted*, the *exclusives*, the *anarchists*, redouble their ardour and their fury. The legislature would do well to occupy themselves as little as possible with the affairs of the South, and to leave the care of it to the government. This is the part which the assembly has at length adopted, by revoking the commission which it had named. The afflicting view of what happened while the government was vested in the convention, suffices to demonstrate how dangerous it would be to trust that power to the hands of a numerous assembly, which, on account of its numbers and of its composition, is susceptible of being made the sport of all the passions, and suffers itself to be hurried along by the torrent of each party in its turn.

It will be seen in the subsequent book how very advantageous it is to have, at last, a stable government ; and mankind will be more and more

more convinced how important it is that the legislative body should not usurp all the powers, of which the two constituent assemblies have but too often afforded an example. We have already said, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the greatest danger which can be incurred by the republic in the progress of time, is lest the legislative assembly should not confine itself to the making of laws, and should seek to get possession of the executive part of the government; a danger so much the greater, as it is more difficult to make an usurping assembly return within just bounds, than to restrain a directory which may have ambitious views. Who would be able to oppose the views of the agitators of an assembly, strong in the confidence of a whole nation, if those agitators had misled the two councils, the directory not having the power of the suspensive *veto*?

These are the motives which would induce us to prefer a president for five years, with the liberty of being re-elected after an interval of five years; he would have more interest in governing well, and more power to resist anarchy. We should never lose sight of the great principle, that a people will be the better governed, in propor-

tion as their governors have an interest in the public welfare.

It is said, that the third of the legislative body which is to be renewed may be replaced by deputies who would prefer the constitution of 1791, and that that may produce a new revolution. We are persuaded that even those who are secretly of that opinion, (which is no crime, since opinion ought to be free,) are at the same time convinced that the experiment of so many revolutions has already cost too much, and that they are too good citizens to wish to plunge France into another revolution. They know that a well established government, though perhaps less good, is to be preferred to a new crisis; and this is the case to which the old adage is applicable: *The best, in some circumstances, is the enemy of good.* The more men of property are elected deputies, the more will they support the established government, whatever may be their sentiments. Such is the royalist, who will be a good republican if he sees that our government can proceed, and that like the American constitution, it is neither destitute of the general approbation, nor deprived of prudence, energy, promptitude, and vigour of execution; for the royalists, who

who are not fanatics for royalty, do not wish for a king exclusively, but for a government in which there exists true liberty, that is to say, security for persons and property.

BOOK XXXI.

Conspiracy of Babæuf and Drouet.—Attempt on the Camp of Grenelle.—Fresh Disorders in the South.—Isnard accused as the Author by Fre-ron.—The sublime Answer of Isnard to Fre-ron.—A Letter from the last, which proves that he equalled the other Proconsuls in Ferocity.—Republican Festivals.—Opening of the Central Schools.—Sitting of the 8th Fructidor (Aug. 26th) on the Subject of the Priests.—Decree on the Subject of the Law of the 3d Brumaire (Oct. 24).—Another Article on the Priests.—New Reflections on the Decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor (Aug. 22 and 30th).—Portraits of Syeyes, Louvet, Tallien, and Chenier.—Military Transactions.—Liberty of the Press.—Jourdan retires.—Reflections on that Event.—Memorable Victory at Arcole.—General Conclusion of the Work, or Re-capitulation of the History of the Revolution.

SUCH is the advantage of a good government, that it binds the passions in chains, and makes

party rage impotent, as ferocious beasts are chained to neutralize and paralyse their rage. The time is not far off, undoubtedly, when the historian of the revolution may lay aside his mournful pencil and his accusing pen. The republic takes stronger hold of us every day; our misfortunes and our errors ensure its confirmation, as our ideas become rectified. We shall still have to speak of crimes and plots; but, at least, they will be confined to the misfortunes of individuals, lamentable, undoubtedly; which cannot, however, invade the constitutional code, nor sap the foundations of our liberty. The reign of the laws is arrived; all good citizens will rally round their standard against the devouring monster anarchy, and, whatever may be their secret sentiments, they will reject the idea of a royalty, which they cannot attain without wading through seas of blood. Peace with the hostile powers, and a general amnesty, which should, we think, either precede or follow it, will complete the union so much desired by all good citizens. The influence of the wicked will then be very feeble. The harmony subsisting between the directory and the two councils will not be disturbed by the arrival of a new third, which is already calumniated on that head, before they are known in the least, as some exclusive

five

five patriots calumniated the preceding third, without knowing more of them. The new third, that is to say, the majority of it, will wish for the best government, or, to speak more correctly, that which contains the least evil. To know which is that government, we should not say merely with Voltaire, that it is that in which all ranks are equally protected by the laws; for the inquiry whether this protection is more secure in a monarchy or in a republic would still remain; but we should say, that the best governed state is that in which all the inhabitants who have property, concur in the formation of the laws which rule the country. Let not the calamities which have fallen on our heads be cited against me; I should reply, that they cannot be imputed to the government of which I speak, since we did not begin to put that government in force till the first sitting of the present legislature. I have on my side the example of the American government, which wants neither unity nor vigour. Time alone can prove the contrary. Still less can the fickle character of the French be objected to me. History abounds in instances which attest this truth, that governments change at pleasure the manners of a nation. I think I have already observed, that the French, so fri-

volous in our time, were a grave and serious people in the age of Julian.

A proof that the men of property wish, in general, for nothing more than good order, and that they already rally round the government, is, that the agitations which we have just experienced, cannot be attributed to those who are confounded under the name of aristocrats and royalists. The plot of Drouet, Babœuf, Laignelot, and others, originated manifestly with the Jacobin sect or faction, and with the party of the *exclusives* and *exaggerates*. The attack made on the camp of Grenelle, or if you will, the attempt to seduce that camp, was made by Jacobins, members of the *ci-devant* revolutionary committees, and seconded, not by men of property, but by labourers and *sans-culottes*. We shall proceed to give an account of those events, and of the last disorders in the South, with the same impartiality with which a natural philosopher, without adopting any system, would faithfully describe the phænomena, whatever consequence might result. Thus I have attributed the plot of Vendemiaire to the royalists with the same veracity with which I attribute the last conspiracy which broke out in Paris to the Jacobins.

Babœuf,

Babœuf, as young and as wicked, but a bolder conspirator than Robespierre, may have been in the pay of both parties. The anarchists and the royalists may have employed him at the same time: the former, from their desire for crime and their thirst of blood; the latter, because they were not ignorant, that anarchy was the surest means of restoring royalty. But Babœuf and even Drouet ought only to be considered as agents of the second rank; the true chiefs of the plot were a great number of Jacobins and ex-conventionals, that is to say, members of the late convention who had not been re-elected: the true chiefs, were the individuals of that Jacobin faction, who, with their hands dyed in the blood of the people, wished to stain them still more deeply, who audaciously put themselves in motion to mislead the people, to re-establish their tyranny, and again erect the throne of terror on the carcase of liberty. Like those terrible winds, which during a violent conflagration, incessantly re-kindle the devouring flames which generous hands had laboured to extinguish, these monsters dared to hope, that they again might wield the dagger of anarchy; but the avenging sword of the law is here, it is the trident which will soon drive the seditious winds back to their caverns. The plot in the camp at Grenelle, evidently a
branch

branch of the first, completes the proof of what we have advanced : if in the first plot, the names of the ex-conventionals Choudieu, Pelletier, Amar, and Vadier *, the friend of Carrier, are to be found ; in the second, we discover those of three other ex-conventionals, Huguet, Javoques, and Cusset, another of Carrier's friends. They well knew, villains as they are, that their names were held in too much horror, to venture to come forward openly. They undoubtedly, for this reason, placed at the head of the plot, a man whose name was dear to republicans : it was necessary at the same time, that he should be ignorant, ferocious, and hot-headed. Such was the hero of Varennes. If he deserves to be crowned with an oaken crown, for having defeated the hopes of a perjured king in his criminal flight, he no less deserves to be led to the scaffold, for having attempted to overturn the established government. Mirabeau, La Fayette, Dumouriez, and Robespierre, have proved to us, that it is possible to betray their country, after having merited civic crowns. Has not the Jacobin society also combined the most signal services with the most execrable enormities ? Did not Themistocles and Corio-

* Vadier was called the man of 60 years of virtue, because, like Robespierre, he was continually boasting of it.

lanus take up arms against their country, after having been its firmest supports? The details we shall give of this conspiracy of Babœuf, Drouet, Ricords, Laignelot, and their accomplices, will display all the craft and impudence of conspirators. There was a committee of insurrection, to superintend the execution of the plot. A perfidious proclamation to the people was to be the signal for the slaughter of the legislative body, and of the constituted authorities; the pretext was very specious, viz. the re-establishment of the anarchical constitution of 1793; it was as in Vendemiaire, in the name of liberty, that they intended to assassinate liberty. It was in the name of the sovereignty of the people, that they meant to enslave them still more. The blow was to have been struck in less than half an hour: the signal would have been involuntarily given by the police itself, it was the sound of the bell which in each section orders the streets to be swept: at that sound the conspirators were to form into small bodies, to proceed to each house, which was marked out for them, and to assassinate at the same moment, the representatives of the people, and the public functionaries, of whom they had a list, either in their beds, or as they rose from them. This first massacre being effected, all these small troops
were

were to unite in order to march in a large body against the directory, who would have had only the constitutional guard to defend them, reinforced at most with a battalion of infantry, and a piquet of cavalry. It is asserted, that the conspirators had even adopted measures for gaining possession of a certain number of cannon, and for reaching the Luxembourg, which is the palace of the directory, with artillery; about 1500 deserters from the legion of the police at Paris, or from other corps, lodged with some of the confidants of the party, all Jacobins or members of the ancient revolutionary committees, who had provided them with the habits of citizens; a multitude from the different departments, who had been included in the amnesty, and the shattered remains of the revolutionary army, were to form the heart of this infernal body, whose object and recompence was to be the pillage of Paris. An order, signed Drouet, to the guard of the powder magazine, to deliver cartridges and charges to the commander of the army of the people, was seized. It is easy to conjecture that it was General Rossignol who had been patronized by Collot d'Herbois: it is the same Rossignol, whose mischievous conduct in La Vendée the brave but unfortunate Philippeaux had

had denounced. Drouet and his accomplices were brought before the high national court; the process against them immediately began *. The genius of France, and of liberty, detected the plot, which was to have been carried into execution on the 19th Floreal of the 4th year (May 7th, 1796); immortal honour to Grisel,

* We should not neglect any of the *traits* which may tend to make our *little* tyrants known: tyrants, if we consider the enormity of their offences, and *little* if we regard their despicable characters. We are informed by the deputy Vacher, a man of honour, and a well-informed and true republican, that Bertrand one of his colleagues, a man no less estimable than he, had succeeded in making the ancient committee of general safety listen to reason on the subject of the three administrators who were accused of federalism; and who were as good administrators as citizens: but Drouet, who was then in the committee, frustrated all his endeavours. One of these administrators was named Altaroche. The names of the others I have forgotten. It is unfortunate that Drouet had not been one of the proconsuls. *Ab uno disce omnes.* I will unmask them all at a future period. Tyrants! tremble; history will pass judgment on you, even in your lifetime. This calls to my mind, the conduct of Robespierre to Carnot: I have the anecdote from Carrier. The last being one day at the committee of public safety, heard Robespierre ask Carnot, on what he was then employed? "On a work," said Carnot, "which is much wanted for the committee of legislation." Robespierre insolently snatched the papers out of Carnot's hands, and tore them in pieces without even looking at them. This anecdote gives a picture of the despotism of Robespierre, and proves, that Carnot did not connive at his conduct.

who

who denounced it to the minister of the police. Without doubt the conspirators would not have survived their enormities; the good citizens would have risen in a mass against them, but they would have done a great deal of mischief: this is the fit time to repeat, what we have already said of their models, or their competitors. *One does not know, whether they were more wicked or foolish.* Did Babœuf imagine that he could lead the people astray by his Journal, intitled *Tribun du Peuple*, and excite the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs to insurrection, as Marat had but too successfully done? But it is in this way that a conspirator of genius may be distinguished from the vulgar conspirator. A man of genius would have seen that circumstances were no longer the same, that nothing is more fallacious in politics than example, and that what is easy at one time, will not always meet with the same success. Babœuf did not consider that the people were wearied of revolutions, that they had learned, from being perpetually deceived, no longer to have an idol, and that they were fatigued even with anarchy. He was also ignorant, that in similar plots, secrecy, a leader of reputation, a great quantity of money, and great discontent and wretchedness among the people, are requisite. No plot

can at this time succeed, at least in the capital, unless the government itself should enter into it.

We shall not dwell long on the plot of the 24th Fructidor of the 4th year (Sept. 9, 1796); it was only a developement and the sequel of Babœuf's. The night between the 24th and 25th, a troop of about 500 men issued from different taverns, armed with pistols and sabres, formed themselves in many columns, and advanced towards the camp established at Grenelle, near Paris, exclaiming, *The constitution of 1793, death to the tyrants, death to the directory, and the two councils.* At these words the centinels acted on the defensive; they returned the fire of these aggressors, who had wounded some soldiers, in order to enter the camp by force. The foot and horse soldiers left their tents in their shirts; they darted on the conspirators with that courage which has always distinguished them; they made a great number bite the dust, and apprehended forty. The camp completed its glory in thus defeating the plot of these infamous miscreants, of these anarchists, these men of plunder and blood, who calculated in the following manner. "Of what consequence is it to us, if all should perish; we
" have

“ have to reproach ourselves with great crimes ;
“ perhaps we shall escape the punishment which
“ awaits us, by overturning every thing, by de-
“ stroying every thing with fire and sword.”

This execrable plot was frustrated in less than twenty minutes. Many accomplices in the conspiracy were afterwards arrested : the principal leaders were Fion, already implicated in that of Babœuf, many members of the ancient revolutionary committees, and Huguet, Javoques, and Cuffet, ex-conventionals. Some of them were condemned to death by the military committee appointed to try them : the three *ci-devant* deputies, whom we have just named, were among those who were shot. A terrible but necessary and useful example ; it demonstrated all the impotence of crime, at the same time that so many reiterated attempts prove its incorrigible turbulence : it will disconcert future manœuvres, and plunge the tyrants into despair ; for the disorganisers are the real tyrants of the people : it teaches us that justice is truly the order of the day ;—that justice is undoubtedly satisfied, and already has terror punished those slaves of crime whom the law could not reach. But will not wicked men, who exist only in plots, meditate new ones ? If we would use past experience to advantage, let us draw the portraits of our enemies,

mies, and point them out on every occasion, so that, being every where unmasked, they may every where find terror and death. Virtue alone is the life of man : crime exists only in carcases, in gangrened and putrified bodies. They belong to the grave ; the grave should swallow them up. Let us not, above all, forget that all conspiracies have the same end in view, or at least produce the same effect, that of degrading, oppressing, and enslaving the people.

It is very lamentable for the historian, who undertakes the painful task of writing the history of the revolution, to be obliged to turn from one afflicting remembrance to another. We must at one time consider the massacre of the prisoners on the 2d and 3d of September 1792, and at another, we must speak of the troubles in the South. The government has just tried and condemned some of the Septembrizers ; but the commanders in chief, the instigators of the first rank of these serious offences, yet breathe in impunity ; some, indeed, who, if they were not leaders, were at least greatly concerned in those atrocities, enjoy places of consequence. Whatever just horror it may inspire, we still believe that they ought to be comprised in a general amnesty, as well as the conspirators of Vendemiaire, whom

we are far from wishing to compare with them, since there were among the latter many excellent republicans, who went too far indeed, but who at least were sincerely desirous of defending the sovereignty of the people, while the royalists, who misled them, defended it hypocritically. The virtuous Rollin has remarked before us, citing in support of his opinion the example of the Athenians, that nothing is more calculated to conciliate all parties, to banish odious passions, and to extinguish the flames of resentment, than a general amnesty. Men of penetrating eyes and enlightened minds, discovered that Babœuf, Drouet, and the ex-conventionals their accomplices, were secretly instigated by these Septembrizers in place, and even by certain of the exclusives, who, without having any very serious reproaches to make themselves, yet had some essential reasons for fearing the return of good order, and the dominion of the laws. This is an additional reason for voting for a general amnesty ; because, in proportion as the guilty are more numerous and more powerful in the city, in such proportion will the investigation of their crimes disturb the peace, to which every thing, without exception, should be sacrificed.

The

The troubles of the South demand a still more serious attention; the Thermidorian re-action was felt there more than any where else. The re-actors, as we have already said, may be divided into two classes; the royalists, always ready to profit by every movement; and the crowd of unfortunate persons who had been heaped together in the prisons by the Robespierrian terrorists. Freron accused Isnard and Cadroi, his ancient colleagues in the convention, of having fomented and patronised all the assassinations with which vengeance had inspired those re-actors. Isnard and Cadroi were not capable of abusing their mission to this degree; but as their aim was to depress the ancient terrorists, the new ones thought that if they were not supported, at least they would not be restrained. Isnard has an ardent and fiery mind; expressions without reflection have escaped him, which fanned the flame of the re-action. "If you have no arms," said Isnard, "fight with the unburied bones of your fathers." He was certainly in that guilty of imprudence; but the re-action would no less have taken place, if he had not used such expressions. Isnard must reproach himself; but the crimes of the ancient terrorists are the primary cause of the re-action. Isnard's reply to Freron is a model of the most

volcanic, the most irresistible, and the most victorious eloquence; it was, in his hands, the club of Hercules. These debates, these contests, hand to hand, between Isnard and Freron*, produced also against the latter a letter signed by him, which adds to the notions of the abuse which the proconsuls made of their power in Robespierre's time. We shall transcribe here the letter, so important to the history of those calamitous times, when so many innocent bodies were strown on the ground.

Letter, dated 6th Nivose, 2d Year (December 26, 1793).*

“ Every thing goes on well here; we have
 “ put in requisition 12,000 masons of the sur-
 “ rounding departments, for the purpose of de-

* Tallien and Freron did great service to the republic on the 9th Thermidor; it is melancholy to be obliged to reproach them with having too much favoured royalism since that time, and to accuse Freron of having been too much of a terrorist before. Twenty journals have also reproached Tallien with having participated in the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September. We find that he has attempted to reply to those serious accusations; but we do not discover that he has been able to succeed. Leonard Bourdon is in the same predicament with respect to the massacres of Versailles.

“ molishing

“ molishing and razing the town. We have
“ cut off 200 heads each day, since we entered
“ the town.

(Signed) “ FRERON.”

Afterwards a proclamation was issued, commanding all the good citizens, upon pain of death, to repair to the *Champs de Mars*; they were set in order, and shot. The history is no longer.

This is again one of those proconsuls who, from their youth, acquired the immortality of crime.

We have just mentioned the conspiracies in the capital, and the movements in the South; we have now to speak of the religious, or rather irreligious, troubles, for we know nothing more impious than intolerance: we do not allude to La Vendée: General Hoche has been the fortunate pacifier, as well by his wisdom as his military exploits; we allude to the memorable sitting of the council of ancients on the 8th Fructidor (August 24). The storms of that sitting were announced, a few days previously, by those men, for whom the complete freedom of opinion, and the striking and truly majestic calm of

deliberation, are alarming symptoms of the establishment of constitutional order. The result of that sitting was very consolatory to the friends of the republic, since the council of ancients shewed themselves to be a council of real sages. A resolution against the priests was discussed. This resolution was in confirmation of the law of the 3d Brumaire (October 24), which condemned the non-juring priests to banishment. Creuzé-Latouche, whose character is much above any connection with the anarchist faction, suffered himself to be misled by a philosophical, or rather anti-philosophical fanaticism. He repeated all the common-place on the evils to which religious differences had given birth; his zeal appeared indiscreet; an almost universal sentiment of philosophical and political tolerance refused him the honours of printing, and made the council think that it would be dangerous to give a sort of sanction to these impassioned declamations, whose effect is to supply religious fanaticism with her strongest arms, at the very time that they pretend to bind her in chains. This effect is the more inevitable, as it was even felt in the midst of the assembly, contrary to the intention of the orator. All the passions replied to the cry of war: neither his philanthropic peroration, nor his concluding for the rejection of
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of the resolution, could destroy the venomous effects of his implicit eulogium on intolerance. The almost stifled enmities and the revolutionary habits of certain members broke out. The printing was demanded with loud outcries, and in those disastrous accents, which are no longer echoed in the council of the ancients. Rouhaut first moved the refusal of printing; he spoke with calmness, dignity, and impartiality; the decision of the council was contested with great fury: the *appel nominal** was demanded with convulsive motions, and with vociferations which afflicted the good citizens, by reminding them of the fatal epochs when there was no mole to stop the torrent. Lacuée, presuming on the intention of the council, proposed to yield to the demand of the *appel nominal*, which he knew to be illegal and nugatory: soon after, Portalis spoke in reply to the proposition for printing and adjourning, which had been repeated by a member. He gave way to the emotions of his heart; and developed the true principles of toleration. The impressive and persuasive eloquence of Portalis for some moments suspended the violence of the storm, which a former decree passed on the motion of Lacuée for the *appel*

* When each member, in his turn, gives his vote by word of mouth.

nominal, that was afterwards contested by a motion for the order of the day, renewed it in all its fury. Dalphonse maintained with courage, and a just strictness, the authority of the regulations, and paid no attention to the decree. It was in the midst of this confusion that Legendre, demanding also the *appel nominal*, confessed ingenuously, that the majority were against the printing, on the second appeal, but he doubted as to the first. At length Dumas re-established order in the discussion: he took advantage of Legendre's confession, and justified the regularity of the proceedings of the chair: and in order to procure a cessation of this scandalous contest, and to demonstrate the will of the majority, he demanded that the council should proceed to the *appel nominal*, the result of which justified the decision of the president. After this result had been declared, Baudin des Ardennes properly terminated this sitting, and re-established the constitutional mode of deliberation: he observed that these tumultuous demands of the *appel nominal*, after a second experiment, and when there could be no doubt, and those individual inscriptions of the minority belonged to the anarchical code of 1793. Thus terminated this very remarkable debate: the discussion of the resolution was continued at the ensuing sitting.

At

At length this impolitic resolution, which, under pretence of combating religious fanaticism, would have re-animated its rage, was rejected.

The national festivals of each month were celebrated with great pomp. At the feast of old age, they crowned, in the theatre of the arts, labourers past 100 years of age, and Nivernois, whose fables have just been printed. It may be justly said of him, *Nivernois is yet a Duke and Peer of Parnassus*. His fables, without being able to sustain a comparison with those of the inimitable La Fontaine, are superior to any thing in that species of composition since La Fontaine. Ten years since, they would not have crowned a duke and a peer at the same time with a labourer; and, two years back, in the time of Hebert and Robespierre, they would not have crowned but guillotined a duke. Nivernois has been fortunate that they looked on him, according to the beautiful expression of Tacitus, as innocent in spite of his reputation. Chariot, foot and horse races, in the manner of the ancient Greeks, were renewed at those festivals. That circumstance produced the good effect of attracting a great concourse of spectators, and of insensibly uniting the minds by the union of the persons of the people. *Œconomical views, on the*
the

the part of government, undoubtedly prevented Guinguené, the director of the public instruction, from giving loose to his genius. If we always imitate, we shall never be imitated. When the Greeks established the chariot races, it was when chariots armed with scythes were used in battle. The invention of artillery has changed our custom and our manner of fighting: let us also change the modes of our national feasts. Have we not sufficient means of making them at once new and interesting? Might we not decree a prize to the engineer who should surpass the others, in the presence of all the spectators? Might we not establish a *naumachy*, a sham sea-fight? Why not crown the best sailer, since we have already seen on the Seine a vessel with sails? Might not still greater benefits be derived from the *aéronauts*? In short, would it not be much to the interest of amusement and of policy, to recompense those who should present a gun which would carry the farthest, and hit a mark with the greatest accuracy, in the presence of the spectators? Assaults, military exercises, and dances, should terminate the festival. It is not necessary to crown, as has been done, all the poets who have written hymns for the republic. Nothing does so much injury to the progress of the arts, as crowns lavishly bestowed on medi-

ocurity. A crowd of obscure poets, whose simple verses were known to nobody, have been crowned: there are but three hymn-makers in the number who merited that honour, Lebrun, Rouget de Lille, author of the *Marseilloise*, and Chenier, for his *Chant du Depart*, the only good piece of poetry of his composition.

It is not a matter of indifference to inform posterity, that the author of that civic and warlike song, the *Marseilloise*; of that triumphal song, which inflamed the courage of our heroes, was also one of the victims of the decemviral tyranny; our Tyrtæus was thrown into a dungeon.

The opening of the central schools was conducted with great solemnity; three professors, Despariaux, Fontaines, and Lenoir-Laroche, the professors of legislation, delivered speeches full of matter, and sparkling with beauties.

Since the unjust and impolitic attack made by the constituent assembly on the liberty of conscience; since they were guilty of the folly of calling certain priests refractory and rebellious, though refractory persons cannot be found in a state where there is no predominant worship; we must

must always speak of that class of men, whenever we come to the narration of our political troubles. The question whether the priests who were in custody should be restored to liberty, was agitated in the council of five hundred. Though it is true, that it would be dangerous to re-admit on a sudden into the bosom of the social body, about 1200 priests in actual confinement, (for as Pope says, "God forgives, but priests revenge"); although the deputy Lanjuinais, whose affectionate sentiments towards the proscribed priests, and whose principles of justice and humanity are well known, wrote from Rennes to the executive directory that he was compelled to acknowledge, that the priests incessantly worked on the public opinion to excite troubles; yet it is no less certain that justice opposes the farther detention of that class of men. We do not even believe, though we may be in an error, that the legislative body can do it without deviating from the principles of the constitution; there are amongst those men, a number of innocent persons, whose consciences are really scrupulous. It may be objected that the constitution of 1795 does not oppose the execution of the restrictive laws of former periods. There are two very easy answers to this: the law of the 3d Brumaire, (Oct.

(Oët. 24.) which put the others in fresh force, was posterior to the constitution. This law in fact abrogated all the revolutionary measures against the priests, by proclaiming the equality of rights among the citizens, and disclaiming any established worship; still further, the laws against the priests were so fully abrogated after the 9th Thermidor, that they only exacted from them an oath of submission to the laws of the republic; they no longer spoke of the ridiculous oath to the civil constitution of the clergy. The maxim which has been so often abused, that the public safety is the supreme law, has been quoted. In our opinion, the safety of the people consists in not violating the constitution, and in founding the government on the eternal and immutable principles of justice. By restoring those priests to liberty, by assuring them of safety and protection by a proclamation, by inserting in the proclamation that those who attempt to disturb the public order shall be severely punished, by watching over them, and generously indemnifying them, the interests of good policy will be reconciled with the laws of the constitution and the calls of humanity. The acquisition of a great number of these unfortunate octogenaries to the republic will follow,
for

for interest is the god of all men. By ceasing to persecute them, you will deprive them of their talisman, and their magic power; by punishing all the agitators of disturbances, you will no longer confound the innocent with the guilty. Even if the public welfare were to suffer in some cases, the violation of the constitution would be a still greater evil. The constitution is the iron bar on which even political reflections must be broken to pieces; it is the barrier which must not be passed; it is our regulator. A convention alone would have the right, if there can be a right of confounding the innocent with the guilty. Let us never forget the maxim of J. J. Rousseau, "I would not wish for liberty, if it were to cost one innocent man his life." Recollect that a government may do every thing, if it be conscious of its force; that it can do nothing if it discovers the least symptom of fear, or if it suffers its weakness to be suspected.

Speeches were made on the subject of the priests, on the subject of the simple question, several of which lasted several hours. We are in the age of long speeches: the Areopagus of Athens was wiser: the advocates and orators of that

that time were interdicted from all the insidious arts of eloquence*.

They banished physicians from the Roman republic; if they do not banish in like manner the orators from modern republics, they ought at least to forbid those firebrands of an assembly, those babblers which have only half knowledge, still more dangerous than a timid ignorance, those bragging empyrics, after whom the wise and well informed man dares not speak, because he has not the popular favour, from making long declamations and tedious harangues. We know that the multitude, and every assembly resembles more or less a multitude, always favours Charlatans. Phocion seeing himself applauded by the people, asked if he had used any foolish expression. Pliny wrote to his friend Maximus, "Will you know what orator is the most applauded, it is not he who says the best things; it is he who babbles the most, who has the strongest lungs, and if you will, the most elegance." It was the orators who ruined the Grecian republics. They

* The ancient orators and historians, another species of orators, who have filled their histories with false harangues, have boasted of the governments which were favourable to them; they have passed slightly over the troubles and the misfortunes of the people.

gave them up to the Macedonian power: those men, ordinarily impetuous, subdued the others. Observe again, that true eloquence does not consist in long discourses on subjects which do not admit of them. Phocion's axe produced greater effects than the orations of Demosthenes, the least verbose of all the orators, I had almost said of declaimers. It is above all in an assembly of legislators, which should be composed of sages and philosophers, of Solons and Lycurguses, that I observe with grief, a war of words, where all questions should be put in the most simple point of view, and explained with all the clearness and precision of the strictest logic, and the reasons for and against should be advanced without any other art or ornament than the solidity of the reflections. Some of our legislators too often resemble those advocates of whom Martial says, "They sell their anger to a party, that is to say, their vociferations and their words: *iras et verba locant.*" I should be glad if it were the usage, or the fashion to say, "Such a one spoke well, because he has been the most precise." Our orators are content if they can electrify an assembly, and set the atmosphere on fire. The glory would be much greater, a greater good would be done, by calming and restraining it within the

the bounds of a grave and majestic deliberation; but these orators are ordinarily legalists and philosophists, not philosophers. They are greedy of reputation, rather than real lovers of the public good. The despotism of oratory is perhaps the most fatal of all in its consequences*.

I shall produce a striking example of the danger of eloquence in an assembly: that example will prove also that Laconicism produced a much greater effect. Rome had an orator, who already had equal influence with Cicero, and who would have eclipsed him perhaps, if a premature death had not cut him off in the flower of his age; his name was Licinius Calvinus. He was one day pleading an unjust cause for a man of the name of Ventidius. The adverse party

* I asked one day a well-informed and well-intentioned deputy, why he did not offer his reflections to the convention? "There are," says he, "a dozen who monopolize the tribune. As they pass for good speakers, the public are infatuated with them; they deafen instead of convincing and persuading; that is what is necessary for the tribunes and the multitude; they possess an impudence which I have not; they stop your mouth by saying *the patriots do not choose it*. I know not by what right or title these exclusives pretend to be more patriotic than I, if it be not because they are stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens and of their colleagues."

was on the point of being condemned, when he exclaimed, "Must I lose my cause because I have not a Licinius for my advocate?" These words made the judges reflect, and he gained his cause.

We should desire, that each orator should begin his speech by saying, "I shall be short, because I wish to discuss, and not to dispute; I shall be moderate, because I believe my reasons are good. There are two sorts of Laconicism, the one of words, the other of things; I shall observe them both."

We cannot conclude this article, without bringing forward a reflection, which appears to us to deserve attention. The Grecian orators and historians incessantly lavished encomiums on a pure democracy, on a pretended popular government, without taking notice otherwise than slightly of the disorders which are the consequence: the reason is, that the people, who, when they are not misled, wish only for true liberty, that is to say, for quiet and security, are regarded as nothing; and that a pure democracy is the government of declaimers.

The object of this work being to expatiate rather on the police and laws of the country,
than

than on the military transactions, we shall content ourselves with giving a slight sketch of the present campaign. We have already given an account of the brilliant success of Buonaparte in Italy, in the table we have given of our victories up to the present time. The Emperor has seen, without any symptom of alarm, three armies advancing at once towards his capital: and this magnanimous firmness will do him honour in the eyes of posterity. A relaxation of discipline for a moment introduced itself into the immortal army of the Sambre and Meuse; it fell back, and left the no less immortal army of the Rhine exposed to the enemy. Moreau raised his glory to the summit by a skilful retreat, which equalled, and perhaps surpassed, the most brilliant military operations of this war. Contending with the united obstacles of every species, he opened a passage for his troops through the armies which hemmed him in, attacked him on all sides, and cut off all his communications. He had written that the Emperor could not long hold out*.

England

* Kleber succeeded Jourdan. It is pretended that the latter owed all his glory to the former. Jourdan is said to be more of a soldier than a general; we leave it to military men to determine whether this be calumny.

We cannot desist from making one melancholy reflection: Pichegru was abandoned because he did choose to march into

England has just sent a splendid embassy to the directory. Corfica was lately restored to us; every thing presaged a general peace. May this animating hope be soon realized! May restorative peace stop a greater effusion of human blood*! We hasten to relate a fact which at once honours our rivals, to whom we ought to be just, and Marceau, one of our generals, who died on the 4th supplementary day of the 4th year, (Sept. 19, 1796,) of the wounds he had received in the battle of Altenkirchen. He was scarcely twenty-seven years old, but already had several victories obtained in La Vendée, and two skilful campaigns on the banks of the Rhine, assigned him an eminent rank among the best generals in this war. Prince Charles, who knows how to honour merit and bravery even in the persons of his enemies, and the Austrians who, in general, entertain similar sentiments, united with the French foldiers in paying Marceau all the funeral honours of which he was worthy. A sublime the deserts and defiles of the German mountains and forests; and Jourdan, for having failed in this very plan, which appears to us to have been very imprudent; especially as Mayence was left behind.

* This happy peace will put an end to the persecuting laws of Brumaire, since those measures are to cease at that period. The objects of them will undoubtedly manifest by their prudent conduct that they were not necessary.

and affecting event, but unfortunately almost the single instance in history. It brings to our recollection Montecuculli weeping for the death of Turenne.

Although we have announced that we should bring this history down no further than Nov. 1, 1796, yet we have thought proper to extend it to the 5th of December, that we may give an account of the last decisions relative to the law of the 3d Brumaire, and especially for the purpose of noticing the ever memorable victory at Arcole; that victory which has decided the fate of Italy, and even of France, by the impulse it will give to the negociations for peace. It is not in our plan to enter minutely into military details, unless they present us with any remarkable singularities. This battle presents us with several, which raises the glory of the day to a superiority over that of Castiglione and Lodi. The first singularity is, that the post of Arcole was carried, though our soldiers were intimidated by the danger of passing the impracticable marshes which defend Arcole, or of approaching the bridge under the enemy's cannon; so much were they alarmed, that General Angereau, seizing a flag, and having carried it to the extremity of the bridge, remained there several minutes without

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producing the smallest effect. The second singularity is, that the left wing of the enemy was driven back, shaken, and put in disorder, by twenty-five men only of the company of guides, who came down on the enemy's infantry, sounding several trumpets. One does not know which to admire most in Buonaparte, whether his extreme bravery, his presence of mind, or the skill and subtlety of his manœuvres. Twelve or fifteen generals or officers of his *etat-major* were killed; sublimely devoting themselves, a circumstance which makes this victory very memorable. The enemy lost 4000 men who lay dead on the field of battle, and about 5000 who were taken prisoners; they also lost four standards and eighteen pieces of cannon. Generals Massena and Angereau ably supported Buonaparte, and acquired equal renown. The great Condé at the age of two-and-twenty gained the battle of Rocroi. Buonaparte at the age of about six-and-twenty has gained the battles of Castiglione, Lodi, and Arcole. When he was setting out to take the command of the army, somebody said to him, "You are very young to undertake the duties of a commander." "I hope," replied he, "to return very old." He has kept his word, for a hero's years are reckoned only by his victories. We may look upon him as a Frenchman. M. de Marbœuf, during his command in Corsica, attached

tached himself to Madame Buonaparte; when he was on the point of returning to France, he prevailed on her to fix her residence there. Madame Buonaparte, in fact, came to settle in France with her family. Buonaparte received all his education in France; he particularly devoted himself to mathematics, and distinguished himself at school by his genius in that branch which relates to artillery. It may be seen from thence that he is not the pupil of any general, and that he has been an old captain, like Condé, from his youth. The campaigns of Buonaparte in Italy, of Pichegru, Jourdan, Dugommier, and the greater number of our generals, seem to belong (so brilliant and extraordinary have they been) to the times of the fairies, or at least to the age of the Bayards and of chivalry.

The law of the 3d Brumaire (Oct. 24) has been discussed in the council of five hundred; a decree was passed, in consequence, which seems to be agreeable to just principles. Each party has gained and lost a little ground. The amnesty has been extended to all the revolutionary offences up to the 4th Brumaire of the 5th year (Oct. 25, 1796); but the provisions of the law of the 3d Brumaire, relative to the relations of emigrants, have been observed, although, as we think,

think, the faults are purely personal. The law of the 3d Brumaire has also been extended to the ex-constitutionals who are under any accusation. A committee has been formed for the purpose of making new regulations for the nonjuring priests. Whether the council of ancients do or do not adopt these different resolutions, we still persist in saying, that the greatest danger is to give the example of making any attack on the constitution; this great business should be settled by one word. Is the law of the 3d Brumaire constitutional or no? Conformable to the rigid rules of justice or no? In the latter case there is no middle course to be taken; justice, and, in this instance, good and sound policy, knows none.

This resolution adds new unconstitutional informalities to those of the law of the 3d Brumaire; the council of ancients has adopted it; its motive was, that it is best to choose the least of two evils, and that having only the choice of two unconstitutional modes of acting, it was necessary to prefer that, which, by excluding from the public functions till the time of peace, those whom the law of the 3d Brumaire excludes, extends that exclusion to those who were included in the amnesty, and the ex-conventionals and other terrorists, whose crimes have been marked by

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the public opinion. Moreover, if it is clear that the law of the 3d Brumaire is unconstitutional, it is, perhaps, no less clear that the resolution which has been just adopted violates the constitution. Baudin des Ardennes, Dupont de Nemours, Tronçon du Coudray, Portalis, and Muraire, are those who in the council of ancients displayed the most eloquence and sound reasoning on this discussion. The sittings were serious, majestic, and striking; and we shall say with the learned and judicious editors of the *Décade philosophique*, that we know many excellent republicans among those who voted against the resolution, as well as among those who voted in its favour. Let us take great care not to do injustice, as has been hitherto but too much the case, to those who differ with us in opinion.

At the moment in which we have brought this work to a conclusion, the abuses resulting from the liberty of the press are more than ever complained of. There are two very simple means of remedying them; the one is, to decree that a calumniator should undergo the same punishment as would have been inflicted on the calumniated, if guilty; the other, still more simple, more certain, and less arbitrary, is to imitate the wisdom of the constituent assembly, who suffered the most virulent

virulent declamations against themselves to be sold in their very precincts; to pass only good laws, and to oppose journal to journal. They have also left the resource of posting up over the whole republic official bulletins; a measure much superior to that of persecution. We cannot better conclude this article, than by making an extract from some just reflections, written with all the fire of eloquence, and inserted in the *Journal de Matin*, by Emeri, on the 13th Brumaire of the 5th year, (Nov. 3, 1796,) although this date exceeds by three days the period to which we originally proposed to confine our history.

“ You who turn pale,” says he, “ at an epigram; you whom censure irritates*, repel it by laudable actions; the poison which a journalist may have poured on your conduct, will

* Why should not we have, as the Romans had, public censors, not for the writers, but for the public functionaries? The Emperor of China is the only prince who has official public censors. The despotism of the emperors, and their most flagrant abuse of the sovereign power, have never been able to suppress the censors, or to impose silence on them. It is almost the only ancient public right which the Chinese still retain; but they have preserved it entire, and it compensates for almost all they have lost. This striking and august employ is entrusted only to literary men, or mandarins of an acknowledged merit. There is a council of censors at Philadelphia.

“ then

“ then flow back into his veins; but if you only
“ open bastilles, and make cannons roar, the
“ public opinion will crush you under the very
“ canopy of pride, and in the entrenchments of
“ despotism. The eye of truth will, in spite of
“ your opposition, trace all the steps of ini-
“ quity, and lay open the folds of your hearts.
“ It will scrutinize your actions, and futurity
“ will discover the crimes locked up in your
“ breasts. Censure is a hot iron, which liberty
“ destines to the employ of branding the fore-
“ heads of the guilty; a salutary cup, fit to dis-
“ perse the fumes of the intoxication of power;
“ a rampart against tyranny, and the strong ar-
“ mour of the weak. What! shall political
“ caprice destroy the germ of my thoughts, and
“ stifle my sighs in my bosom! If the seal of
“ despotism be applied to my mouth, who then
“ will venture to exhale the indignation which
“ vice excites? Who will make the executioner
“ hear the cries of the innocent blood which he
“ has shed? Who will inoculate those souls of
“ brass, which the law purifies, and the universe
“ accuses, with the poison of remorse? It is
“ the office of censure to fix a stamp on infamy
“ and corruption. We are perpetually told of the
“ respect due to property. Well! I have no
“ other than my thoughts: if you bind them in
“ chains,

“chains, I am a slave; you detach me from the
 “cause of freedom, and I owe no longer any
 “thing to my country. If you cast me into a
 “dungeon for having written what I think; my
 “thoughts, like the lightning which pierces the
 “clouds, will burst through the walls by which
 “you thought to inclose me; this will excite
 “the indignation of a just age in my favour, and
 “the sounds of my voice will be prolonged by
 “the echoes of posterity which will be your
 “judge. Legislators, do not forget that, sur-
 “rounded as you are with a thousand perils,
 “you have need of the counsels of public opi-
 “mon.”

We cannot avoid adding one observation. It is, that by limiting the liberty of the press, a writer may be exposed to persecution, for an opinion which afterwards may be acknowledged and adopted as a good one.

This will suffice, undoubtedly, to prove how easy it is to remedy the abuses of the press, by means of the press itself, without arrest, without persecution, and without oppression. What stronger rampart can be found for liberty? What better means can our governors discover of promoting by a number of fine sentiments, and of preventing

venting explosions, often slow, but inevitable when not foreseen? This affords an opportunity of enjoying one of the most delightful pleasures of which man is capable, that of following nature in her eternal combinations, of discovering and observing the delicate connection of her various relations. Revolutions have an influence on revolutions, ages on ages, and governments on manners. Priests and tyrants, above all, have depraved the minds and hearts of nations from one pole to the other; they have paralysed their genius and degraded their character; but nature, always alive and incessantly in motion, produces the greatest effects from slight, and, apparently, indifferent causes. A single man, John Guttenberg, who made the first typographical essays at Mayence, has changed the whole universe. The spectacle of that man, too little known, smiling in his workshop at the discovery of his moveable alphabet, is worthy of a philosopher. Even those people who will be the last to shake off oppression, and to procure good laws for themselves, because they have had expert tyrants who let their yoke be felt only insensibly, and because they have been enervated, as at Venice, by feasts, games, and masquerades, will, by degrees, perceive the abject nature of slavery, and this awakening will be due to Guttenberg. The nations,

nations, also, whose moral death is less confirmed, because they are ruled with a rod of iron, and because more timid tyrants do not cover their chains with flowers, will be born again to liberty by means of the press. All the crimes of tyrants will soon be expiated; thought can never die; it is, whatever may be done to injure it, from this time, eternal and indestructible. Four-and-twenty moveable letters have worked this miracle; the extension of knowledge is certain; that will put an end to the delirious explosions of fanaticism, and the enterprises of all the enemies of public and private liberty.

Conclusion and Recapitulate of the Work.

We have, at length, completed the immense task we imposed on ourselves, of transmitting to our descendants the history of our revolution down to the present time. If we have erred in our judgment and our reflections, we are sure, at least, of having faithfully related the most important facts. Nothing now remains but to make a rapid and concise sketch of this long series of events, so instructive, so various, and so curious, both for posterity and our contemporaries. Now it is, that, like the eagle which soars to the height of the sun, the nearer
to

fell in their turn. Danton, Marat, and Robespierre completed the exhaustion of d'Orleans' resources, and dragged him first to prison, and then to punishment. We have shown how far the first constituent assembly was wrong in attacking all the abuses, all orders, and all classes at once; in decreeing the impolitic oath which was required of the priests; and, in short, in irritating all the passions, in making all interests clash together, and filling the state with malcontents, contrary to the maxim of Rousseau: contrary to the maxim of common sense. We have demonstrated the faults and impolitic infatuation of the court, the nobility, and the clergy. The Orleanist faction, their crimes, and the horror which they inspired augmented the discontents. Marat and Robespierre, the Jacobins and the Cordeliers governed by them, and the Mountain in the convention, raised it to its greatest height, and made those mere royalists who, under a good government, would have been the best republicans, by their reign of blood. The throne was overturned by the thunder of the 10th of August; its hereditary possessor was no more; the Orleanist faction still existed, but at length it fell with its infamous chief under the decemviral dictatorship, which sported with men and with the laws. The convention, in general, was not, perhaps,

to behold his rays, the reader should run with us over this extensive region of virtue and vice, of success and disasters, of glory and infamy, of abuses reformed and succeeded by still greater, of good and bad institutions, of true and feigned conspiracies, of licentiousness and tyranny, of treachery and generous sacrifices, of falsehood and truth, of audacity and weakness, of the most foolish improvidence and the most profound policy; in short, of light and darkness. We have seen that the revolution was the daughter of philosophy and crime; that insurrection derived its birth partly from oppression, and partly from the faction of d'Orleans. That prince was the *primum mobile* of the revolution, not so much from his own views, as because he was made the tool of ambitious men, who used his name, his credit, and his money, to answer their own purposes. Surrounded by Laclos and other miscreants of his stamp, and governed by Mirabeau, and even by la Fayette, at the commencement of our political storm; and abandoned by them after the night between the 5th and 6th of October, and forgotten till 1792, we have seen that he terminated his career by falling a sacrifice to the party which had swallowed up all the others, although he had pretended, in order to save himself, to join that party, whose chiefs afterwards fell

haps, badly composed ; it displayed great talents, pure intentions, and a tried civism ; so that all the crimes were the work of a factious minority, who always paralysed the efforts and designs of virtue by the impudence of vice. The deputation of Paris, more especially, contained, at that time, a small number of men worthy of their situation. The rest were dæmoniacks, ignorant wretches, Septembrizers, and plunderers of the wardrobe of the crown ; at their head were Danton, Marat, and Robespierre ; these three men, these three monsters presided at the massacres of September. Marat said publicly, that France was ruined, if he did not take on himself the sole direction of affairs. Danton, still more voluptuous and indolent than ambitious, did not aspire to the chief rank ; he sought only to acquire power enough to assure him of impunity. As to Robespierre, he could never deny that Panis, one of his confidants, as he came out from this same Robespierre's with Barbaroux, said to the latter, *That is the man whom we must raise to the dictatorship.* Robespierre, therefore, proscribed Barbaroux, and saved Panis. The convention had ordered Garat, the minister of justice, to prosecute the authors of the massacres of the 2d of September : the guilty then made the first essay of that system of terror, by the aid

of which they overcame a great number of deputies, virtuous, enlightened, nay even courageous and energetic, but too confident, and incapable of conceiving the whole extent of crime, whom the most laudable of motives, the love of peace, inspired with a moderation, of which the guilty did not fail to take advantage. The leaders of the sections, the agitators of the people, were put in motion; the municipality of Paris was devoted to them. Audacious petitions were presented; the convention relaxed; and the decree against the authors of the massacres was not reported, but indefinitely suspended. The factious, from that moment, were in possession of the thermometer of the assembly. The king's trial took place: then the line of separation between the two sides of the assembly was irrevocably marked out; then, more especially, was the influence of terror tried with still greater audacity. It was not, however, the list of the votes for or against the death of the king, which served to fix this line of demarcation: several deputies, whose ruin the factious meditated, voted for the death: they were to be found out of that list; they preferred, instead of that of the suffrages, the one of the appeal to the people, in which they were almost all included. The system of terror and blood was continually increasing,

creasing, because vice always stands in need of fresh crimes to confirm the success of the first. Already had Marat spoken of cutting off 2000 heads; already had Robespierre declared that the richest man ought not to possess more than an income of 3000 *livres* (125 *l.* sterling); already had they propagated the principles of that destructive government, which was afterwards developed under the name of revolutionary government. It was this fear, unhappily but too well founded, of the Agrarian law, which contributed to Vandalise the west of France, to Chouannise or royalise Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon. The crimes of the proconsuls, of those tigers at whose remembrance we blush at being men, completed the revolt of all minds. We have seen that the factious Mountaineers had plotted the slaughter of the sound part of the convention on the 10th of March *. This con-

* The following is an exact notion of the manner in which that plot was defeated. There was then at Paris a battalion of the volunteers of Finisterre, which, together with 60 or 80 from Nantes, formed a corps of 500 men. Kervelegan, one of the deputies in the majority, went and awoke the commander: the battalion were soon on foot, and were prepared to march with their cannon to the assistance of the convention. The conspirators were no sooner informed of the intentions of the Bretons, than they immediately dispersed; and Pache took the merit of having prevented this conspiracy, which he secretly seconded, as he did afterwards that of the 31st of May.

spiracy was defeated ; but they soon planned another, which broke out on the 31st of May, and the 1st and 2d of June ; disastrous days, which were the epoch of the most monstrous, the most unexampled, the most execrable and inconceivable tyranny. The proscribed deputies were accused of attempting to kindle the flames of a civil war. Biroteau, however, had quitted Lyons, because he had remarked in the chiefs the true spirit of royalty. Buzot's attachment to royalty was a clumsily contrived fable. In the department of Calvados, the proscribed rejected the proposals of general Wimpfen to treat with England.

It will be probably concluded, that the first and third assembly did both good and evil, and the second nothing but evil.

The reader will recollect the several revolutions in our revolution. They form so many principal epochs. What sea has been agitated by so many tempests ? What nation has suffered so many shocks, in so small a number of years, from such political storms, or been so torn by factions, a prey to so many convulsions, attacked by so many enemies from within and without, betrayed, mutilated, and decimated by its representatives ?

sentatives? How many conspiracies, how many re-actions, have we successively developed? Neither the attempts of the court to dissolve the States General, the famous sitting or retreat to the Tennis-court, the 5th and 6th of October, the 10th of August, the king's trial, the conspiracy of the 31st of May, the sitting of the 9th Thermidor, nor the days of Germinal, Prairial, and Vendemiaire, will ever be forgotten. Though the re-actors always attempted to envelope themselves in the thickest clouds; though it was their constant policy to attribute their own furious conduct to the opposite party; though, in short, the greater part of the plots, particularly in later times, were formed by the anarchists, with whom the royalists were united, or by royalists with the assistance of some anarchists, we think we have sufficiently explained all the facts, to leave no doubt on that subject*.

It

* It has been said, in a journal, that Baudin, deputy of the Ardennes, had uttered, when speaking of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, these remarkable words: "To conciliate the interests of the convention with those of the people." "Their interests, then," adds the journalist, "were not the same; and this confession will not be lost for history." "We have scrupulously examined, not only the report made by Baudin in the name of the committee of eleven, but also

It has been particularly attempted to prove that there was no plot in Vendemiaire, or that the Parisians were all Vendemiairists; it has even been said, that the leaders of the convention and the Jacobins had framed that plot, if one existed. The juries, which acquitted those who escaped at the time of the military commission, which condemned some to death, afterwards declared, that there was no conspiracy against the convention in Vendemiaire. We respect the intentions of the jurors, we believe them to have been pure; we have particularly seen, with satisfaction, that they sought to throw a veil over that lamentable day. They thought, probably, that the sections having had some excellent citizens and good republicans at their head, if there were any marked royalists among the chiefs, they could not punish the one and pardon the other for the same offence. These juries, with reason, believed that they ought to incline to mercy; that enough of innocent blood had already been shed; and that a general oblivion was the only mean of stifling enmity and suppressing resent-

the speech he since delivered in the legislative body. Not a single phrase escaped him which gives the smallest colour to this imputation. This is, however, the manner in which the best deputies are calumniated, and in which it is attempted to deceive posterity,

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ment*. As to the plot, it is unfortunately but too true that it existed†. The sections did not conspire, nor even all the chiefs; but the royalists, and perhaps some Jacobins, or *ci-devant* members of the ancient revolutionary committees, and some pure but over-zealous and unenlightened republicans, led them to this mischievous measure. We have already said, that those are most in the wrong, who, calumniating beforehand the new third, planned the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor (August 22 and 30); part of them from the thirst of power, and part to escape the chastisement they deserved. It has been seen that there existed a triumvirate, composed of Sieyes, Louvet, and Chenier; to whom may be added Tallien, and some others. Sieyes, sold or devoted by turns to d'Orleans, Robespierre, the ancient Mountain, and the Mountaineers who are still in office, is a man of a haughty and despotic character, but timid in

* This last motive makes us desire a general amnesty, even for the September murderers.

† There was so manifestly a plot, that the deputy Merfais, a man of integrity, and a true and enlightened republican, who had uniformly opposed the Mountain, said on the 13th Vendemiaire (October 4), "I am on my post, almost with a certainty of destruction; my friends that I die contented, if France and the Republic are saved."

the time of danger. He was a canon before the revolution. Mirabeau said that his silence was a public calamity; the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor prove that his works and his thoughts, rather than his silence, were a public misfortune*: those decrees have caused it to be said of him, and with some foundation, though with a little exaggeration, that he never dreamed but of a crime, or the disasters of a nation. Others have called him the Aristides of our days; assuredly, this is to profane that name. We, who judge men only by their actions, say that he is a Proteus, who, through fear or ambition, has often changed his party. We say that the public safety ought not to be hazarded by proposing the revolutionary decrees, of which he has given the ideas; because, though they may perhaps be necessary, the fear of a danger, often imaginary, ought not to expose us to more certain dangers: that is what caused the blood of our brethren to flow in Vendemiaire; that blood which nothing can redeem, and for which nothing

... is a man of very trifling literary acquirements, found, though obscure metaphysician, and a great ... We have seen him smile with contempt at per- ... English literature. We have nobody, how- ... to Bacon, nor even to Newton, who, in our ... so great a genius as Bacon.

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can compensate. If revolutionary measures are once permitted in the name of the public safety, this pretext will always be in readiness: there will be no bounds which will not be overleaped. Sieyes is a very profound thinker; but he has at all times shewn too great an inclination to support the party which he thought the strongest. Louvet is an ambitious man, who is always full of his own reputation, and always thinks of himself, and nothing else: he has a badly-organized head; he is one of those half-informed men in politics and legislation, who are more dangerous than the completely ignorant. His literary knowledge, moreover, is not above mediocrity; and he is a novelist without genius. Chenier is greedy of power, proud and envious to an excess, which always denotes inferiority. See if Arnault, the author of *Oscar*, is jealous of Legouvé, or if Racine was envious of Boileau. Chenier is also, in legislation, one of those half-enlightened men, who are the greatest scourges of a state, because they have not sufficient light to see clearly, and have too much to be without pretensions. Tallien, no less consumed with ambition, dreads the reproach of the massacres of September. These are the men who now, as at the time of the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor,

Fruftidor, pretend that they are the only republicans. They are the men who propagated the calumny against the new third of the legislative body; they tell you that only royalists were named in Germinal; that the new elections must be enlightened, for they dare not say influenced. They are become real alarmists, because they are alarmed for themselves. Let us return to the general survey of our revolution. The reader has followed us in the narration of the ever-memorable facts of four terrible campaigns which we have had to support without; the tri-coloured flag has even floated on the Adriatic; our armies have several times passed the Rhine, a single passage of which was so much celebrated by the sycophants of Louis XIV. We have made the most brilliant excursions; we have conquered Holland; several new departments have aggrandized France. It appears that the Emperor will be obliged to sue for peace, and England to renounce her supremacy in America, her exclusive commerce with the Indies, and her despotism on the seas. Perhaps it would have been better not to have united so many countries to France: perhaps the faction of the exaggerates and of the ambitious has produced the faction who are partizans of the boundaries

boundaries of the Rhine*. It is clear that this party is still predominant, since Santhonax is kept in the colonies, where the word liberty is become synonymous with the word destruction. The colonies bring to our minds sorrowful reflections, and the picture of the revolution so varied in other respects, alas! preserves always the sad monotony of crime and misfortune. The reader is under the necessity of continually embarking on this sea of blood, on this ocean of enormities, of folly, of infamy and calamities, which we have been obliged to cross. He will not forget that the magic words, the power of the people, the sovereignty of the people, equality and liberty, have as yet produced neither happiness nor liberty. The freedom of the press, that salutary freedom, has as yet been well maintained by the tribunals alone: the jury of the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine has given an eminent example in acquitting on the same day, Lebois a journalist whose anarchical paper we are far from approving, and another journalist accused of royalism†. Let us never forget that the liberty

* This ambitious project consists in fixing the course of the Rhine from Basse to the sea, as the boundary of the French empire.

† This tribunal was well composed: Gohier, the president, is a true republican, mild, honest, and enlightened.

of the press carries along with it a counter-poison, and that a silent tyranny is preparing, whenever any attack is made on the freedom of writing. The Athenians were better acquainted with liberty than we are; they erected an altar to calumny; not that they loved or esteemed calumny, but they knew that it was better to tolerate it, than to put a stop to every thing that might throw light on the conduct of the magistrate. They were represented on the Theatre; Socrates was brought on the stage by Aristophanes. Among us, shall a Chenier treat authors as vilifiers of him and the national representation! The true vilifiers of themselves, and of the body of which they are members, are those who pass bad laws. Nothing can render that vile which is not so in itself.

We have not forgotten to propose, according to our feeble notions, the best means of establishing our constitution on a better foundation, when it shall be revised.

Those who will take a general survey of the whole of our revolution, will consider above all how crime engenders and perpetuates crime. The guilty have no hope of absolution, but by means of fresh offences. It will be remarked, that

that the massacres of September, which took place in order to procure the election of Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, and other furies of the same stamp in the députation of Paris, were the first links in that immeasurable chain of crimes under which we so long groaned: the sum of our miseries was the produce of those choices, and they were the sad result of those murders. We owe to that nomination principally, the proscriptions, the requisitions, the maximum, the arbitrary taxes, the destruction of Lyons, the siege of Toulon, and the massacres of the South and La Vendée. We never, however, abounded more than then, in pompous maxims. Justice and probity were the order of the day, at least in words. Robespierre violated every principle and every law, while he was incessantly saying, *Let the universe perish rather than one principle be violated.* These wretches destroyed the morals of the people, vandalized France, and did so much mischief that many persons still look on the return to good order as problematical, or rather impossible: they are the agents of those who were elected after the massacres of September, who are continually agitating the public, in order to insure themselves impunity. A man who did not observe that the republican government

ment was not established, that the great tyranny, for perhaps there still exists too much, did not cease till the commencement of the existing legislative body, said to me with a groan, "They say that Switzerland and English America are happy under republican governments; why are not we?" I could not make a number of observations to him, which he would not have understood; I contented myself with saying, that the constituent assembly had overturned too much, and had undertaken too much at once; that it had committed the most serious errors, and that the convention was still more impetuous; that we had had no government till the legislative body met, and that the conduct of the new governors and of those who would succeed them, would decide the question whether this form of government were equally adapted to all nations*, whatever might be the basis of their character. It results from this conversation, that even the royalists, for this man

* There is no question of it; governments modify, at their pleasure, the character of a nation. The question reduces itself to the inquiry, whether it will answer in a state which the constituent assembly, by demolishing too much, and afterwards the proconsuls, have peopled with malcontents? This miracle can only be effected by good laws and the extreme wisdom of the governors. They should never forget this maxim: That every government which protects is good; and every government which destroys is bad.

was so, would cherish the republic, if a good government would induce them. This end will be answered, not by terror but by good laws. Royalism has few resources: the anarchists are more powerful and more audacious: the same desire to injure the press, the same thirst of blood consumes them: but all the citizens are ready to rise against them. The priests protect them all, without distinction between those who have and those who have not taken the oath, and they will cease to be dangerous; it is persecution which procures them partizans. Be just, if you wish to be great: be just, if you wish to be happy. When we say just, we mean just to all, even to those whom you believe to be, or who really are your enemies. These are the true principles of government: the exclusives excite apprehensions with respect to the elections of Germinal: no longer, undoubtedly, will men be elected who are covered with the leprosy of crimes for which it was necessary to invent new names, and who would wish again to take up arms and to bring on a new revolution; they will no longer chuse the half-instructed, ignorant babblers, men of nothing, apostles of the agrarian law and of a civil war. It will be recollected that the reign of orators, of those pretended worshippers of the people, is the worst

worst of all, as we have proved in this work by incontestable facts; it has been the orators, of whom the greater part have neither the knowledge nor the virtue of Cicero, who have lifted the sword of anarchy in all republics, who have been the friends of equality, in the same manner as Procrustes, who willed that his guests should not be longer than his beds, and who would have guillotined Socrates and Cicero, the one for having said that democracy is the reign of the wicked over the good; and the other, for asserting that the temerity and licentiousness of the popular assemblies had ruined the Grecian republic. Men of property, of honesty and good sense will be elected, who will know all the danger of fundamental innovations, and that the best is often the enemy of the good, and that that which is sublime in theory is often very fatal in practice. We are tired of revolutions; and have not forgotten how much gold, blood, and tears, they have cost. Did we not believe that the revolution was concluded on the 14th of Sept. 1791, by a perfidious acceptance? Had we not the same hope when the throne was overturned? Was it not imagined that every thing was finished on the 31st of May 1793, when some flattered themselves that virtue was for ever condemned to be silent? Did not the
revolu-

revolutionary government also appear to be a mean of terminating it? Have we not had new re-actions since the 9th Thermidor?

But, say the exclusives, the emigrants return in crowds, and the tribunals acquit them. I know there are judges who think it good policy to shut their eyes upon their return, resolved to punish them if they disturb the country; they think that those who emigrated after the 31st of May cannot be blamed, nor those whom the peasants compelled to seek elsewhere for safety. We wish not to say much on this subject; but the following calculation may renew every one's courage. Supposing that in Germinal a fourth or a moiety should be elected from among the royalists, will there not still remain the other half of the third to counterbalance them? Will there not remain the two-thirds of the legislative body, of which a great majority are more sincerely attached to the republic, than those who pretend to be the only patriots? We must, therefore, believe, that the revolution, in spite of the anarchists, will resemble those violent and terrible claps of thunder, which, after having been for a considerable time prolonged, after having borne with them devastation and death, finish with purifying the atmosphere,

sphere, and bringing back serene weather. We believe that the same thing will happen to us as happened in England. The parliaments, since so jealous of their liberty, were under Henry VIII. the instruments of his ferocity. Nothing was seen but scaffolds, gibbets, and funeral piles. Such were the paths over which the English trod to arrive at the times when Locke dived into the human understanding, Newton developed the laws of nature, and that people had the wisdom, which we have not yet had, to establish the equilibrium of the three powers. After the sanguinary reign of Henry VIII., the Duke of Somerset, Protector of England, cut off the head of Seymour the high admiral, his own brother; he soon lost his own life on the scaffold by order of the Duke of Northumberland, who himself suffered the same punishment. The Archbishop of Canterbury burned the sectaries, and was burned himself in his turn. Queen Mary executed Jane Grey and all her family; and Queen Mary of Scotland lost her head on the scaffold. This part of the history of England is fit to be written by the hangman. Cromwell, with an impudence and hypocrisy, and particularly with a cant, perhaps, still more absurd and disgusting than that of Robespierre and the Jacobins, who wished

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wished to sans-culottise France * ; Cromwell, who, like Robespierre, from a fanatic † became ambitious, arrived at the dictatorship, after having led his king to the scaffold. Who would not have presaged, when he saw this long and dreadful confusion in the state, that that kingdom was near ruin ? It was directly the contrary ; order sprung out of the bosom of anarchy ; liberty, public and private safety, were nursed in the lap of discord and calamity ; the bounds of the human mind were enlarged, and its dominion extended. If the history of our revolution has but too much resembled that part of the history of our neighbours ; if the enormities of our proconsuls have surpassed those of the English tyrants ; let us, at least, imitate the return of that nation to wisdom, to internal peace, and to the arts. There is no longer, whatever may be said, any remains of the Orleanist faction ; but several of its former agents exist, and are united with the anarchists : that is the party over which terror

* Cromwell's courage would have made nothing more of him than a colonel or a major ; his mystic style and prophetic follies raised him to the throne.

† It is certain, that at first Robespierre was a fanatic for liberty and equality.

should hover. As to the malcontents, their numbers will diminish with the increase of order and wisdom*. Let the government daily gain the confidence of the people, and it will have a thousand arms at its service; it will possess that irresistible and colossal power with which its predecessors destroyed every thing, and might, if they had chosen, have renewed every thing; with which it may do every thing, and without it nothing; without it every effort will be paralysed. The task of the legislative body and of the government is immense, but a harvest of glory and of benedictions will be reaped by them. They have to gain over to the republic those whom tyranny, injustice, and oppression, have alienated from it; they have to manifest that our constitution is not a philosophic speculation, the advantages of which will vanish in practice; they have to prove the possibility of the august alliance of morals and politics; they have to convince us that the principles of liberty, equality, and justice, are not vain words and fruitless paradoxes, and that, if the inauguration of the constitution took place in the midst of thunder and lightning, this

* The fine arts again begin to flourish. François Neufchateau has just described the hills of the Verges, in verse, worthy of Haller.

striking and majestic colossus is at length set upright, and is not a phantom; they have to repair the mischief done by those monsters, whose names, whose reign, and whose crimes, we should wish for ever to bury in oblivion; they have to remedy the errors and crimes of three assemblies, and to blot out of remembrance seven years, seven ages of calamity.

We cannot resolve to conclude this history, without once more attacking a prejudice, which appears, at this moment, to be the greatest obstacle to peace. It is said that, to make it durable, the Rhine should be made our boundary and rampart: it is precisely the contrary; the aggrandisements of a nation make the spirit of rivalry and hatred fiercer. A conquest is an unperishable germ of wars and divisions. Do you wish for a rampart more solid than the Rhine? Observe the maxim, so beautiful, and, at the same time, so politic, of the constituent body, when it declared that France for ever renounced all idea of conquest. *But what will indemnify us?* Peace, happiness, and alliance and commerce with neighbouring nations; they will begin by esteeming us, and will finish with loving us. Governors, never forget that

that love is a stronger rampart than terror, both within and without; let not the saying of the Roman general escape you; "A few more such victories as those which I have gained, and I shall be as much exhausted as the vanquished." The ruinous successes of war caused all the reverses of Louis XIV. These reflections are addressed to foreign powers as well as to our directors.

Nulla salus bello, sed pacem poscimus omnes.*

The Muses in tears also demand peace. Benezech, the minister of the arts, and Guinguené, director of the public instruction, are filled with zeal for that object. The happy choice which has been made of these two supports of science, will be superfluous without a peace.

As to myself, seduced, from my infancy, like so many others, by the perfidious narrations and the lying declamations of the orators and historians of Athens and Rome, whose destiny seems to have been to injure future ages, but enlightened since by the experience of our long misfor-

* There is no safety in war; but we all demand peace.

tunes, I owe, perhaps, to that double school the impartiality which, I hope, is to be found in this work. I am, at least, so sure of not having belied my conscience, and of not either going beyond or falling short of the truth, that I could have intitled this publication, *My profession of faith, my political testament.*

THE END.

